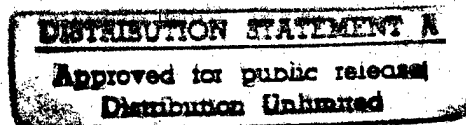


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# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 2100

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25 January 1983

EAST EUROPE REPORT  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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## ALBANIA

### NEW FAMILY CODE PUBLISHED

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No 3, Jul 82 pp 36-60

[The Family Code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania; passages between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Part I

/The Family Code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania/

The People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has decided:

To approve the Family Code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

General Part

Chapter 1

/Content, Obligations and Bases of the Family Legislation/

Article 1

The Family Legislation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania expresses the will of the working class and of other working masses; it is an important means in the hands of the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat for the regulation of family relationships.

Article 2

The task of family legislation is to serve the creation, protection and further strengthening of the socialist family in conformity with the norms of communist morality.

The task of family legislation is to assure the complete execution of equality between spouses and other members of the family, the expansion and deepening of socialist democracy in its bosom and to combat foreign manifestations in family relationships.

### Article 3

Family legislation is guided by the policy of the Albanian Workers Party and is based on the ideology of the working class, on Marxism-Leninism.

Family legislation stems from the Constitution of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania.

### Chapter II

#### The Socialist Family

### Article 4

The family, the basic cell of socialist society, is based in the relationships born from marriage, family and progeny. It relies on the feeling of love and of mutual respect among its members, on the community of their thoughts and ideas, on the unity of interests of all family members with those of society and on the best heritage of our people.

The family's task is to educate its children in the feeling of love for socialist fatherland, for the people, for the Albanian Workers Party, for work and for socialist property.

### Article 5

The family and marriage are under the care and protection of the state and society.

The government organs and social organizations take care of the strengthening of the socialist family and of the education of all its members in the Marxist-Leninist understanding, in the struggle against foreign manifestations.

### Article 6

Family members have equal rights and obligations in the family.

The wife, liberated from political oppression and economic exploitation, as a great force of the revolution, enjoys the same rights as her husband in the family.

### Article 7

Parents are responsible for the good rearing of their children and for their communist education with revolutionary feelings and high virtues so as to serve the socialist fatherland everywhere and always.

### Article 8

Children have the obligation to respect their parents and to take good care of them, especially, when they are disabled and without sufficient means for existence.

## Article 9

Children born to parents who are not married have the same rights and obligations as those born to parents who are married.

## Article 10

Mother and child enjoy special concern and protection.

Children without parents and without support are reared and educated by the state.

## Article 11

Family members are obliged to help each other and to participate, according to their capacities and possibilities, in increasing the material well-being and cultural development of the family.

/Special part/

## Chapter III

/The Bond of Marriage/

## Article 12

Marriage is contracted before a competent state organ.

## Article 13

Marriage is concluded with the consent of future spouses on the basis of acquaintance and love.

## Article 14

Marriage can be concluded between a woman of 16 years and a man of 18 years.

## Article 15

A marriage cannot be concluded if one of the parties is already married to another person.

Marriage cannot take place between elders and juniors; between brother and sister; between uncle and niece; between mother's sister and nephew; and between children of brothers and sisters.

Marriage cannot be concluded between mother-in-law and son-in-law, between father-in-law and daughter-in-law, between stepmother and stepson, and between stepfather and stepdaughter even when the marriage, which has created this relationship, has been declared invalid, null or dissolved.

END

Marriage cannot be concluded between the adopter and the adopted, between the children of the adopter and the adopted, and between the adopted children themselves.

Marriage cannot be concluded if one of the parties suffers from psychiatric disease, or has deficient mental development, making him unable to understand the purpose of marriage.

#### Article 16

Marriage is concluded publicly at the people's council, where registries of vital statistics are kept, in whose territory the future spouses reside or, at least, one of them resides.

The future spouses, who desire to have their marriage in another place, can ask the chairman of the appropriate people's council to authorize the people's council of that place to officiate at the act of marriage.

#### Article 17

The future spouses present their request for marriage to the office of vital statistics of the competent people's council, together with a copy of the birth certificate and, if the latter is not available, a similar document. The employee of the office of vital statistics informs the parties concerned of the date of their marriage.

#### Article 18

A member of the people's council participates in the marriage ceremony on behalf of the people's council.

In addition to the future spouses, two adult witnesses and the employee of the office of vital statistics attend the marriage ceremony; the employee of the office of vital statistics under the direction of a member of the people's council, performs all acts for the registration of marriage in the relevant registry.

#### Article 19

The member of the people's council, after verifying and ascertaining the identity of the future spouses and after assuring himself that there is no legal obstacle to the marriage, explains to the future spouses their rights and obligations as future spouses and as parents. Afterwards, he asks the future spouses, one after the other, if they desire to be united in marriage with each other and receives their approval.

Immediately after this, he drafts the act of marriage which is recorded in the registry of marriages and is signed by the spouses, the witnesses, the member of the people's council and the employee of office of vital statistics. As of this moment, the marriage is concluded.



## Article 20

The member of the people's council prevents the marriage from taking place when he discovers that it is forbidden by law.

The future spouses can file a protest within a month to the people's council where marriage was to take place against the decision of the designated member of the people's council to prevent their marriage from taking place.

The decision of the people's council is final.

## Article 21

A marriage contracted without the consent of spouses and in opposition to articles 14 and 15 of this Code is declared null by the court.

Each of the spouses or the prosecutor has the right to sue in regard to the invalidity of the marriage. The right to sue in this connection is not prescribed.

When, during the judgment of the case, the reasons opposing the marriage have been eliminated, as stipulated in Article 14 and in the first and last paragraphs of Article 15 of this Code, this marriage is not declared null.

## Article 22

A marriage contracted while one of the spouses is under the influence of threat, without which the marriage would not occur, is declared null.

The right to sue in regard to the invalidity of marriage contracted under threats is given only to the spouse who has been threatened. The right to sue in this connection is void 6 months from the date the threat has ceased but, in any case, it lasts no longer than 3 years from the date of the marriage.

## Article 23

The consequences for the spouse, who did not know the reason of the invalidity of marriage, start from the day that the decision is final.

The property relations of the spouse who, at the time of marriage did not know the reason of its invalidity, are settled in regard to the other spouse, the same as the property relations of the spouse who was not responsible for the dissolution of marriage.

Children, born in a marriage which is declared null, are considered as born in the marriage and their relationships with parents are settled the same way as in the cases when marriage is dissolved.

## Chapter IV

### /Rights and Obligations of Spouses/

#### Article 24

Spouses have the same rights and obligations toward each other. They must love and respect each other, maintain conjugal fidelity, help each other in fulfilling all family and social obligations and participate in satisfying the material and cultural needs of the family.

#### Article 25

Spouses decide jointly on every matter dealing with relationships resulting from their marriage.

#### Article 26

When they marry, spouses have the right to choose to keep as their common surname, either one of their surnames or each one has the right to keep his own surname.

Surnames are recorded in the registry of marriage.

#### Article 27

Children take the common surname of their parents. When parents have different surnames, all their children keep one surname, the surname which the parents will decide in mutual agreement. When there is no agreement reached between spouses, children keep their father's surname.

## Chapter V

### /Maternity, Paternity/

#### Article 28

Maternity of a child is proved by the fact of birth.

#### Article 29

The father of a child born during a marriage is the spouse of the child's mother. A child born within 300 days of the breaking up or dissolution of marriage or of the declaration of invalidity of the marriage has as his father the former spouse of his mother.

When a child is born during the course of the second marriage of his mother, his father is the spouse in his mother's second marriage, even if the child is born within 300 days of the breaking up or dissolution of the first marriage or of the declaration of its invalidity.

#### Article 30

The father of a child born to parents, who are not married, is the person who acknowledges the child as his own. This acknowledgement can be made at any time before the employee of the office of vital statistics, before a notary or by testament.

#### Article 31

The acknowledgement of paternity is valid when the child's mother, informed by the employee of the office of vital statistics, gives her approval. When the mother opposes this acknowledgement or does not respond, within a month, to the the notification which she has received about this, the man who has acknowledged the child as his own can sue before the appropriate court in order to certify that he is the father of the child.

The right to sue is invalidated 1 year from the day of the receiving of the notification, by the employee of the office of vital statistics, of the mother's refusal.

#### Article 32

The mother can acknowledge the child when the child is recorded in the registry of births as born of unknown parents.

The acknowledgement can be made before the employee of the office of vital statistics, before a notary or by testament.

#### Article 33

It is not possible to renounce recognition of maternity or of paternity of a child born from extramarital relations, with the exception of the cases when the acknowledgement is made under the influence of a serious threat or of falsehood.

#### Article 34

The paternity of a child born from extramarital relations can also be certified by court decision.

#### Article 35

A child, listed in the birth records with parent unknown, can request from the court the certification of maternity or of paternity.

The right to sue for certification of maternity or of paternity can be claimed as long as the child lives.

#### Article 36

The court decision, establishing the child's maternity or paternity, is effective from the date of the child's birth.

#### Article 37

The suit to certify the paternity of a child born from extramarital relations can be filed by the child's mother, even when she is under age, or by a guardian, when the mother does not exercise parental right; however, the guardian must obtain the approval of the guardianship council.

A mother's right to sue for certifying a child's paternity is invalidated 3 years after the child's birth.

#### Article 38

The suit to certify paternity can also be filed by an adult child. The right of the child to certify paternity has no statute of limitation.

#### Article 39

Maternity shown in the birth record can be challenged by the woman recorded as the child's mother, by the woman who seeks to be recognized as the child's mother or by the child himself when he becomes an adult.

The right to sue to challenge maternity has no statute of limitation.

#### Article 40

A man who, in accordance with Article 29 of this Code, is the father of a child, can contest the paternity of this child.

The suit to contest a child's paternity is made against the child, who is represented by the mother.

The right to sue is invalidated 1 year after the date the man has been informed of the child's birth.

#### Article 41

A mother can challenge that the man who, according to Article 29 of this Code, is considered to be the father of her child, is the father of the child.

The right to sue is invalidated 1 year from the date of the child's birth.

#### Article 42

A child, when he becomes an adult, can protect having as a father the man who, according to Article 29 of this Code, is considered to be his father.

The right to sue is invalidated 3 years from the date the child becomes an adult.

#### Article 43

The right to sue, stipulated in articles 35, 37, 38, 39, 41 and 42 of this Code, does not pass to the plaintiff's heirs; however, the judgment which had started before can be continued by his heirs.

In the event that a child was conceived when the spouse of the mother was absent and the spouse died before a suit could have been filed to challenge the child's paternity, his elders or juniors can file this suit within 3 months of the date of his death.

#### Article 44

When he becomes of age, a child has the right to refuse to accept as his father a man who has recognized him as his son.

The right to sue is invalidated 3 years from the date that the child becomes an adult.

#### Article 45

A man, who considers himself as the father of a child born from extramarital relations, can challenge the claim that another man, who has acknowledged the child as his own, can be the father of this child. The right to sue is invalidated 1 year from the recording of paternity in the registry of vital statistics.

#### Article 46

The right to sue, covered by articles 35, 37, 38, 41, 42, 44 and 45, can also be filed against the defendant's heirs.

#### Article 47

The court can extend the deadline of the statute of limitation by request of the person concerned or on its own initiative when there are legitimate reasons.

#### Chapter VI

##### /Adoption/

#### Article 48

Adoption is carried out in the interest of the adopted.

Through adoption, similar relationships as those between parent and child are created between adopter and adoptee.

#### Article 49

Only a minor is adopted.

The adopter must have a difference in age of at least 18 years between himself and the person to be adopted.

#### Article 50

A person cannot be adopted by a person born before him [sic], nor can a brother be adopted by a sister and vice-versa.

#### Article 51

A person cannot adopt when:

- a) he has been deprived of parental right by the court;
- b) he suffers from a psychiatric disease or has defective mental development; he suffers from a disease which can endanger the health and life of the person to be adopted;
- c) he has no assurance that he will properly fulfill the task of an adopter in regard to the rearing and education of the person to be adopted.

#### Article 52

No one can be adopted by several persons. Only spouses together can adopt the same person.

#### Article 53

Adoption is decided upon by the court of the district where the adopter is a resident.

#### Article 54

In regard to adoption, the approval of the two parents of the person to be adopted, or according to the case, the approval of the guardian, is required. When the person to be adopted is over 10 years old, his approval must also be sought.

When the person to be adopted is married, the spouse's approval is also required. The spouse's approval is not required when he had been deprived of parental right by the court or when he suffers from a psychiatric disease.

#### Article 55

In regard to a child born from extramarital relations with father unknown, abandoned in a state institution for children, the approval is given by the director of the institution, when the mother is unknown or when she has previously given her written authorization for the adoption of her child.

#### Article 56

The approval of the person who will adopt and of the spouse, and the approval of the parents or of the guardian of the person to be adopted, must be given personally before the court.

For legitimate reasons, one of the parents of the person to be adopted can give his approval for adoption before a notary.

#### Article 57

Through adoption, rights and obligations, similar to those existing between persons of the same family, are also created between the adopter and his family, on one hand, and the adoptee and his offspring, on the other hand. Rights and obligations, existing between the adoptee and his offspring, on the one hand, and his family, on the other hand, are terminated.

When one of the parents of the adoptee is the spouse of the adopter, the adoptee does not cut off relationships with this parent and with his family.

#### Article 58

The reason which forbids marriage between the adoptee and his family, covered by Article 15 of this Code, is not removed by adoption.

#### Article 59

The adoptee takes the adopter's surname.

When the adoption is executed by two spouses, by a widower or by the spouse of one of the parents of the child, they can request that they be recorded in the decision of adoption as the child's parents. In this case, the adoptee, in addition to the surname, also takes, as name of father and of mother, the name of the adopters.

When the adoption is carried out by a widower, the deceased spouse of the adopter can be recorded as parent of the adoptee.

#### Article 60

In any case, for the adopters to be recorded as the parents of the adoptee, it is necessary to have the approval of the parents of the person to be adopted, of the guardian and of the person to be adopted if this person is over 10 years old.

#### Article 61

At the adopter's request, the place of birth of the adoptee can also be changed.

#### Article 62

The adoption is considered to be concluded as of the day the decision on adoption becomes irrevocable. This decision is sent for registration to the office of vital statistics where the main registry of adoptions is located.

## Chapter VII

### /Relations Between Children and Parents/

#### Article 63

Parents have the same rights and obligations toward their minor children.

#### Article 64

Parental right is exercised exclusively in the interest of minor children and with the agreement of both parents.

#### Article 65

When one of the parents is either unknown or dead, deprived of parental right, without capacity for action or with limited capacity for action, parental right belongs to the other parent.

When one of the parents is prevented from exercising parental right, the other parent exercises this function.

#### Article 66

Minor children live with their parents.

Parents, who do not live together, must agree in regard to who the child will live with. When this agreement is not reached, at the request of one of the parents, the guardianship council decides on the issue, asking the opinion of the child if the child is more than 10 years of age. In this case, the guardianship council also decides upon the relations between the child and parent with whom the child will not live.

After request of one of the parents, the guardianship council can change its decision when the circumstances have changed.

The decision of the guardianship council is an executive title and is executed by the office in charge of court decisions.

#### Article 67

A grandfather and grandmother have the right to maintain relations with their minor grandsons and granddaughters even when their parent has died and they are looked after by the other parent or by other persons.

When a parent or the person who looks after the child do not allow the grandparents to have contact with their grandsons and granddaughters, the guardianship council, at their request, decides upon the matter. When the circumstances change, at the request of the grandparents, the guardianship council can change its decision.



The decision of the guardianship council is an executive title and is executed by the office in charge of court decisions.

#### Article 68

In the case of dissolution of a marriage or of its invalidation, the parental right is exercised by the parent to whom the child has been entrusted.

When the other parent does not approve of the activities carried out or the measures taken by the parent who exercises parental right, he can address himself to the guardianship council so that it can take the necessary measures.

#### Article 69

Parents cannot leave their child to be reared and educated by a person who is not a guardian.

#### Article 70

Parents can seek in court the handing over of their minor child when the child does not live near them and is kept illegally by other persons. The court decides on the return of the child if this is not in conflict with the child's interest. In any case, the court asks the child's opinion when the child is over 10 years of age.

#### Article 71

Parents represent their minor child in all juridical activities when he is under 14 years, with the exception of those activities which, according to the law, can be carried out by the minor himself.

The minor, who is over 14 years, carries out juridical activities on his own, but always with the preliminary approval of parents, with the exception of those activities which, according to the law, he can carry out himself.

#### Article 72

The assets of a minor, who is under 14 years, are handled by parents in the interest of the child, while the assets of a minor, who is over 14 years, are handled by the minor himself but, always, with the preliminary approval of parents.

#### Article 73

The transfer of real estate of every minor child up to the age of 18 and all activities which go beyond the limit of simple administration of any asset of a minor can be carried out only when the interest of the child required it and always with the authorization of the guardianship council.

A juridical action carried out without the authorization of the guardianship council can be declared null by request of the guardianship council, by the minor who has attained the age of 14 years, by the parent or by the child's guardian.

When the guardianship council gives its approval later, the juridical action is not declared null.

#### Article 74

The manner in which the parents fulfill their rights and obligations in regard to the education, rearing and protection of the rights and interests of their minor children is monitored by the guardianship council.

#### Article 75

The guardianship council, when it discovers that parents are not taking care of the rearing and education of their minor children or when it is required in the interest of their minor child, can ask the court to remove the child from parents and to entrust the child for rearing and education to a state institution or to another person who accepts it.

With the removal of a child from parents, the other rights belonging to parents and their obligations toward the child are not affected.

#### Article 76

When a parent misuses parental right or shows serious lack of concern in the exercise of it or, as a result of his activity, exercises a harmful influence on the children's education, at the request of the other parent, of the guardianship council, or of the prosecutor, he is deprived of parental right.

The deprivation of parental right is carried out by court decision, summoning the parent, in whose behalf the deprivation of parental right is requested, as a defendant parent.

#### Article 77

Parental right can be restored to the parent by court decision when the reason for depriving him of parental right, ceases to exist.

### Chapter VIII

#### /Obligation to Support/

#### Article 78

Obligation to support devolves according to the following order:

- a) spouse to the other spouse and children to their parents;
- b) parents to their children;
- c) the younger relatives to their elders who are not parents;
- ch) the elders to their juniors who are not their children;

d) brothers and sisters to brothers and sisters.

#### Article 79

When the persons entrusted with the task of providing support are not in a position to provide it fully or partially, the obligation to do so passes, fully or partially, to the persons listed in the above mentioned order.

Parents are not discharged of their obligation to support their children even if they are deprived of their parental right.

#### Article 80

Parents are obliged to support their minor children when they do not have sufficient means for living.

Obligation to support continues even during the period when adult children attend secondary or higher schools up to 20 years of age.

The obligation to support for other persons arises only when the person who needs support is unable to work and does not have sufficient means for living.

#### Article 81

The stepfather and stepmother also have the obligation to support their minor stepchildren, with the exception of cases when the latter have other persons who are obliged, and in a position, to support them.

Also, stepchildren are obliged to support their stepfather and stepmother when the latter have supported them and have taken good care of them when they were young, for a long period, not less than 10 years. In this case, stepchildren are entrusted with supporting their stepparents like their own parents.

#### Article 82

Obligation to support ceases if the marriage between the parent and the stepmother or stepfather is dissolved.

#### Article 83

A spouse, when the marriage has been dissolved through no fault of his own and is unable to work and without sufficient means for living, has the right to request support from the other spouse.

In this case, obligation to support must be sought and decided upon in the judgment for the dissolution of marriage. The request for support can be presented within 6 months of the date when the decision on the dissolution of marriage becomes final, on the condition that inability [to work] and lack of sufficient means for living had existed during the period of marriage.

#### Article 84

Obligation to support, provided in the conditions of Article 83, is set for a period of up to 3 years after the dissolution of the marriage. This obligation ceases before this deadline when the spouse, who enjoyed the right of support either marries again, becomes capable of working, or assures the sufficient means for living or when the court, taking into consideration the circumstances, believes that he does not deserve to profit from this right.

#### Article 85

Obligation to support is set in accordance with the needs of the person who enjoys the right to support and the economic situation of the person obliged to provide support.

When obligation to support is a collective concern of several persons, this obligation is divided among these persons in accordance with the economic situation of each one of them.

#### Article 86

The person, who is obliged to provide support for another person, fulfills this obligation by taking this person into his own house in order to support him.

Nevertheless, the court, according to the circumstances of the issue, can decide that the obligation to support should be fulfilled either by paying a set amount of money in lieu of food or by providing food in another manner.

#### Article 87

Obligation to support starts on the date that the suit has been filed.

The court, by request of the person concerned, can reduce, remove or increase the obligation to support set by decision in final form when the circumstances, on the basis of which the decision has been taken, have changed later on.

The reduction or removal of the obligation to support, established by a final decision and unexecuted, starts on the date when the circumstances, on the basis of which the decision was taken, have changed; while, the increase of the obligation to support starts on the date of the filing of the suit.

#### Article 88

When a decision, which includes an obligation to support, is executed 6 months after the date that it has become final, overdue obligations start only for the last 6 months.

#### Article 89

Obligation to support ceases with the death of the person obliged to provide support even if this obligation, included in a final decision is not executed.

## Article 90

The right to seek support cannot be transferred to another person.

The person who is obliged to provide support cannot request that this obligation to support be cancelled by a debt owed to him by the person who enjoys the right to support even if he has overdue obligations to support.

## Article 91

Relinquishing of the right to support for the future is invalid.

## Chapter IX

### /Termination and Dissolution of Marriage/

## Article 92

Marriage is terminated with the death of one of the spouses or when the court proclaims one of the spouses as missing.

When it turns out that the spouse who has been proclaimed as missing is alive, the marriage, which was terminated by declaring him missing, is made valid again, with the exception of the case when the other spouse has already concluded a new marriage.

## Article 93

Marriage is dissolved by decision of the people's court.

## Article 94

Each of the spouses can seek divorce from the court when, because of continual quarrelling, bad treatment, serious penal conviction of the spouse or because of any other reason, marital relationships have been so deeply shaken that conjugal life has become impossible and therefore marriage has lost its purpose.

## Article 95

In its verdict on the dissolution of marriage, the court must mention the reasons which have caused the deep shaking of the marital relationships and specify the spouse who is responsible for the dissolution of the marriage, with the exception of the cases when the marriage is dissolved because of objective reasons.

When the court believes that measures of an educational nature must be taken against the responsible party, it takes hands down a special decision.

#### Article 96

The spouse who, as a result of marriage, has changed his or her surname, after the dissolution of the marriage, reverts to the surname which he or she had before the marriage.

#### Article 97

With its decision on the dissolution of the marriage, the court also settles the issue of which parent will be entrusted with the rearing and education of the children.

When parents do not agree on this issue or when their agreement is not in the child's interest, the court, after receiving the opinion of children, when the latter are over 10 years old, decides that all children will remain with one parent or some will remain with their mother and some with their father. For justifiable reasons, the court can decide that children be entrusted to a third person when the latter accepts this or to a state institution.

The court can also entrust children to the parent who was responsible for the dissolution of the marriage if this solution is in the children's interest.

#### Article 98

The parent, who has not been given custody of the children, has the right to maintain relations with them according to the ways the court has established.

The court, at the request of one of the parents or of the guardianship council, when circumstances have changed, can change the decision on the rearing and education of children and on the relations between parents and their children.

#### Article 99

The court, when deciding on the dissolution of marriage, also sets the amount of the contribution necessary for the rearing and education of the children.

#### Article 100

A marriage is considered dissolved as of the date the decision on the dissolution of the marriage becomes final.

#### Article 101

In the decision on the dissolution of the marriage, the court, at the request of each spouse, also decides on the right to the use of the conjugal dwelling.

### Chapter X

#### /Guardianship/

#### Article 102

Young children, who are not in the care of their parents either because both parents are dead, unknown, proclaimed missing, deprived of parental right or

deprived of the capacity of action, are called to be under guardianship and enjoy the special protection of the state.

Persons, who are not capable of looking after themselves, are placed under guardianship.

#### Article 103

Guardianship aims at assuring minors, who are not in the custody of their parents, of suitable conditions for their rearing, schooling, education and comprehensive development so that they will become worthy and conscientious citizens, capable of protecting their rights and interests.

Guardianship also aims at protecting the rights and interests of other persons who are placed under guardianship.

#### Article 104

Guardianship tasks are carried out by the guardianship council set up the executive committee of every district people's council. It is composed of the following: a member of the people's council, as chairman; the chief of the educational section; the chief of the health section; a judge from the district court; and a representative of the Union of Working Youth of Albania, of the Albanian Women's Union, of the Albanian Trade Unions and of the Albanian Democratic Front. These officials are elected every 3 years by decision of the executive committee of the district people's council and on the proposal of the responsible organization.

The guardianship council is assisted in its activity by the government organs and social organizations.

#### Article 105

The guardianship council decides on the appointment of the guardian when this is in the interest of the minor or of the person under guardianship. The guardian takes good care of the minor and persons who are in his care and, when he is unable to provide, in any other way, for their schooling, education and health, he sends them, according to the case, to special institutions for children, boarding schools, health institutions or other institutions.

In appointing a guardian, the guardianship council must also seek the opinion of any minor who is over 10 years of age.

The guardianship is terminated when the minor reaches the age of 18 or when he marries before the age of 18.

#### Article 106

The duty of a guardian toward a child, who is in a special institution for children, is exercised by the director of the institution. If a child, who is in such an institution for children, has his own wealth, the guardianship council names a guardian for the administration of this wealth.

#### Article 107

The guardian must take good care of the minor, as if he were his parent, especially, for the minor's rearing, education and schooling.

A minor placed in guardianship lives with the guardian, with the exception of the cases when the guardianship council decides in a different way.

#### Article 108

A minor in guardianship must respect and obey his guardian just as a child obeys his own parents.

#### Article 109

The guardianship council dismisses the guardian and replaces him with another when it finds out that he has misused his rights as guardian, when he has proven to be careless in the execution of his duty or when he has endangered the minor's interest in other ways, as well as when the guardian himself requests to be discharged for justifiable reasons.

#### Article 110

A person, who has been deprived of or limited in his capacity of action by court order, the guardianship council, within one month from the notification of this decision, must be assigned a guardian, specifying his legitimate rights.

The guardianship provisions for minors are also valid for the guardianship of the persons who have been deprived of or limited in their capacity of action, with the exception of the cases when this Code stipulates differently.

#### Article 111

The guardianship of a person, who has been deprived of or limited in his capacity of action, is terminated when this capacity is given back to him by court decision.

#### Article 112

The guardianship council appoints a special guardian when the minor's interest requires this or when the protection of the interests of the persons who have their capacity of action but are unable to appoint their representative requires this.

In these cases, the special guardian is appointed by request of the person who will be represented and by request of the spouse, of the family, of the government organs, of the social organizations and of other persons concerned, or at the initiative of the guardianship council itself.

The special guardianship is removed when the reasons for which it was created cease to be.



#### Article 113

The special guardianship, specified in Article 112 of this Code, does not affect the capacity of action of the person who is represented by a guardian, and can be created with the approval of the person represented, with the exception of the cases when this approval cannot be given.

#### Article 114

The decisions of the guardianship council can be abolished by the executive committee of the district people's council, where the guardianship council has been created, at its initiative or at the request of every person concerned, when these decisions are in contradiction with the interests of the persons under guardianship.

#### Chapter XI

##### /Transitory and Final Provisions/

#### Article 115

The provisions of this Code are executed in regard to the disagreements which are in progress at every level of judgment.

#### Article 116

The Family Code of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, approved by Law No 4020, of 23 June 1965, is abrogated.

#### Article 117

This Code comes into force on 1 September 1982.

Tirana, 29 June 1982

Law No 6599

Xhafer Spahiu, Secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

Haxhi Lleshi, Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania

9150

CSO: 2100/10

ALBANIA

LAW ON INSTITUTE OF SAVINGS, SECURITIES BANKS

Tirana GAZETA ZYRTARE in Albanian No 3, Jul 82 pp 61-66

[Law on Institute of Savings and Securities Banks; passages between slantlines printed in boldface]

[Text] Law on the Institute of Savings and Securities Banks

On the basis of Article 67 of the Constitution, the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has decided:

/General Provisions/

Article 1

The Institute of Savings and Securities Banks deals with the collection and keeping of savings in money which people voluntarily leave in savings and securities banks, with the organization and execution of internal insurance, with foreign insurance and re-insurance and with the execution of other activities set by provisions of the Council of Ministers.

Article 2

The Institute of Savings and Securities Banks is a juridical person, acts as an economic unit with personal accountability and is under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.

Article 3

Savings deposits, left in savings and securities banks, are guaranteed by the state.

Article 4

Every person has the right to deposit his monetary assets in one or several savings and securities banks and to have one or several savings account books of any kind.

The initial deposit or balance after every operation cannot be less than 25 leks in any savings account book.

Deposits in savings and securities banks can be made in the name of a third person.

#### Article 5

Depositors have the right to dispose freely of their deposits at any time.

#### Article 6

A depositor has the right to authorize, by proxy, other persons to make withdrawals from his deposit. When the amount to be withdrawn is up to 300 leks, verification by proxy is not required. For withdrawals above this amount, a proxy must be certified, according to the case, by:

- a) the chairman or secretary of the village or city-quarter people's council;
- b) the institution, enterprise or organization where the depositor works or is pursuing his studies;
- c) the administration of the health institution, where the depositor is a patient for treatment;
- ch) the command of the military unit, of which the soldier represented is a member;
- d) the administration of the place, where the person is presently under arrest or where he is being punished with deprivation of liberty.

#### Article 7

The following can dispose of savings deposits:

- a) a parent or guardian when they are made by third persons, on behalf of the youth who is under 14 years of age;
- b) the youth himself when he is 14-18 years of age, but always with the approval of the parent or guardian;
- c) a depositor of 14-18 years of age or an adult depositor with limited capability of action, in cases when they have made the deposits themselves;
- ch) a parent or guardian for the persons (young people and adults) who have been deprived of their capability for action.

#### Article 8

A depositor, in regard to his deposit in savings and securities banks, has the right, by notarial act or by letter addressed to the savings and securities

bank, written with his own hand and including the place of issue, date and signature, to specify any person, the state, or a government or social organization to whom his deposit will be handed over after his death.

A depositor can change or withdraw, at any time, the availability of his deposit made in the above mentioned manner.

#### Article 9

Savings deposits made during the period of marriage are common property of both spouses.

#### Article 10

In regard to the cases when a depositor has not indicated in writing the name of the person to whom he is leaving his deposit after his death, according to paragraph 1 of Article 8, the savings and securities banks hand over the deposit to his heirs, on the basis of the proof of inheritance with which the court certifies the inheritance right.

In exceptional circumstances, the savings and securities banks pay the heirs even without the presentation of the proof of inheritance, in these cases:

- a) when the amount deposited is under 500 leks, requiring a personal statement from one of the heirs;
- b) burial expenses up to 1000 leks are paid from the amount deposited to one of the heirs or to the depositor's relative against a statement from the receiver.

In cases when a depositor has no heirs, the deposit goes to the state.

#### Article 11

Depositors receive an annual interest in the following percentages:

- a) for ordinary conditional savings deposits and those in current account, 2 percent;
- b) for savings deposits in term accounts, 3 percent.

#### Article 12

Savings and securities banks maintain secrecy about savings deposits. Information about savings deposits is given only to depositors or to persons authorized by them, to the organs of the coroner's office for penal cases, and to the court organs for penal cases, for the division of the wealth of the spouses and for the obligation to provide support.

### Article 13

The court or the coroner, in the cases covered by Article 12, have the right to impose a sequestration on the savings deposit of a depositor until the conclusion of the case and, they inform the savings and securities banks of this action. Compulsory execution on sequestered savings deposits can be carried out only on the basis of a penal or civil decision issued by the court, which is final.

/Internal Voluntary and Compulsory Insurance of Wealth./

### Article 14

Voluntary insurance is carried out on the basis of the Civil Code and the regulations of the Ministry of Finance.

Compulsory insurance is carried out on the basis of legal provisions.

/Foreign Insurance and Re-Insurance/

### Article 15

Foreign insurance and re-insurance for export and import goods, the insurance of motor vehicles which circulate in the territories of other countries and in insurance of vessels of the merchant fleet are made on the basis of special provisions of the Council of Ministers and of the regulations of the Ministry of Finance.

The Institute of Savings and Securities Banks has the right to conclude relationships with the responsible institutions or organizations of other countries in regard to insurance and re-insurance.

/Financial Means of the Institute of Savings and Securities Banks/

### Article 16

Means deposited in the savings and securities banks are used for financing the people's economy.

### Article 17

The private means of the Institute of Savings and Securities Banks are composed of:

- a) the basic fund;
- b) the reserve fund;
- c) other funds specified by provisions of the Council of Ministers.

The reserve fund for internal insurance and for other needs is set in the amount of 100,000,000 leks.

## Article 18

Incomes and expenditures of the Institute of Savings and Securities Banks are approved in the financial plan in which its relationships with the state and budget are also established.

When losses in regard to savings and securities activities exceed the reserve fund, the balance is covered by the state budget.

/Final Provisions/

## Article 19

Decree No 4209, of 9 January 1967, "On the State Institute of Savings and Securities Banks," is abrogated.

## Article 20

This Law comes into force 15 days after its publication in GAZETA ZYRTARE.

Tirana, 30 June 1982

Law No 6600

Xhafer Spahiu, Secretary of the  
Presidium of the People's  
Assembly of the People's Socialist  
Republic of Albania.

Haxhi Lleshi, Chairman of the Presidium  
of the People's Assembly of the People's  
Socialist Republic of Albania

9150

CSO: 2100/10

BULGARIA

REPORT, SPEECHES DELIVERED AT CONSTRUCTION TROOPS CONFERENCE

BCP Secretary Dimitur Stanishev Address

Sofia TRUDOVO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Oct 82 p 1



Dimitur Stanishev

[Text] Maj Gen Georgi Zhivov, chief of the Political Administration of the GUSV [Main Administration of Construction Troops] opened a course for upgrading the skills of party-political personnel and heads of permanent seminars and study teams for the Marxist-Leninist training of the Construction Troops, in the hall of the cultural club of the GUSV, in an efficient and creative atmosphere.

Those present were particularly interested in the presence of Comrade Dimitur Stanishev, who was invited by the Political Administration.

In his report, the BCP Central Committee secretary particularly emphasized the most topical problems of international politics and the international communist movement. He emphasized the tremendous contribution and influence of the BCP and personally of its general secretary Comrade Todor Zhivkov in strengthening the international communist and worker movements at the present stage. The talk lasted more than two and a half hours and triggered a lively interest on the part of the participants. Questions were asked which were comprehensively answered by the BCP Central Committee secretary.

In expressing the gratitude of the command, the Political Administration and the entire personnel of the Construction Troops for this exceptionally interesting and useful talk with the basic leading cadre of the troops in charge of their upbringing and training, Maj Gen Georgi Zhivov, chief of the Political Administration, asked Comrade Stanishev to pass on warm greetings to the BCP Central Committee Secretariat members and personally to Comrade Todor Zhivkov, general secretary, presented by the aktiv of the Construction Troops, and to assure them that the personnel are firmly rallied around the party's policy and are aware of their obligation to strengthen the power of the BCP. "We shall do everything that is necessary," said he, "to make our homeland and our party, which is marching shoulder to shoulder with the CPSU, strong. May there be more such meetings!"

Lectures and reports to those attending the course were also presented by Comrades Lyuben Petrov, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Planning, and Danail Glavinov and Todor Ganchev, deputy chief of the BCP Central Committee Propaganda and Agitation Department.

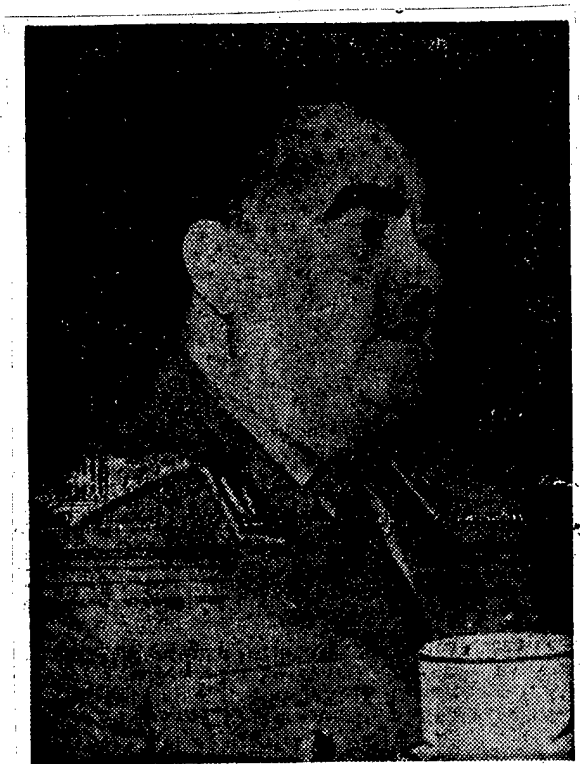
The work of the course is continuing.

#### All-Army Young Officers' Meeting

Sofia TRUDOVO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Oct 82 pp 1, 3

[Text] An all-army meeting of the party aktiv was held on 20 October 1982 to discuss the work with young officers. It was attended by Col Gen Velko Palin, BCP Central Committee member and head of the Central Committee's Military-Administrative Department; Georgi Grigorov, BCP Central Committee member and head of the Central Committee's Organizational Department; Ivan Sakarev, BCP Central Committee member and minister of construction and architecture; Col Gen Kiril Kosev, BCP Central Committee member and chief of the Main Political Administration of the People's Army; Demir Borachev, BCP Central Committee member and deputy chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council; Mincho Chuntov, BCP Central Committee candidate member and first secretary of the Kirkov Rayon party committee; Pencho Sirakov, Komsomol Central Committee secretary; and Georgi Lichev, secretary of the Trade Union of Construction and Construction Industry Workers Central Committee. Also attending were other senior representatives of central departments.





Photograph of Lt Gen Vasil Vasilev

After inaugurating the meeting, Maj Gen Georgi Zhivov, chief of the Political Administration, gave the floor to Lt Gen Vasil Vasilev, chief of Construction Troops, who submitted a report entitled "On Improving the Work of Commanders and Party and Komsomol Organizations in the Development and Establishment of Young Officers as One-Man Commanders, Construction Workers and Specialists, Organizers and Educators of Their Subordinates--Active Fighters for the Creative Implementation of Party Decisions Among the Construction Troops." (The extensive summary of this report is published separately).

The first speaker in the course of the discussions on the report was Maj Gen Nikola Paunov, chief of the General Blagoy Ivanov, chief of the VNVSU [Higher People's Military Construction Academy]. After welcoming the initiative of the command and the Political Administration of Construction Troops for convening this meeting, he reported to the delegates on the efforts which are being made at the school to train first rate knowledgeable and able cadres to meet the needs of the Construction Troops, loyal to the party's cause. The skills of commanders and instructors are being improved. New curricula are being drafted in accordance with the requirements of the three higher education levels. It can be confidently claimed that following the introduction of the five-year

training course the alumni of the VNVSU gained proper training and acquired the necessary knowledge and skills to carry out their responsible assignments. In discussing shortcomings and unresolved problems in student training, he stressed that the ties and interaction between the school and the troops are not on the necessary level. There are weaknesses in the practical training of the students in the various projects and problems exist related to material facilities and technical training equipment.

Lt Georgi Pavlov, a young officer, using personal examples from his military service, initially as platoon commander and, subsequently, engineering and technical worker, pointed out the difficulties encountered by the young officers at the beginning of their careers and the ways to surmount them. "In my practical work," he said, "I came across problems which had never been mentioned at the VNVSU. However, I was not reluctant to ask questions." He stressed that in his development as a young commander and specialist his contacts with the Komsomol society played a major role. He was also helped by more experienced officers who showed fatherly concern. He was helped in his development also by participating in the sociopolitical life of the unit.

At the beginning of his statement, Maj Gen Ivan Petrov, chief of staff of Construction Troops, pointed out that changes in the structure and content of construction-production assignments raised new requirements facing the training of cadres. In discussing the qualities of the officer he cited the words of Georgi Dimitrov: "What distinguishes the military person from the ordinary citizen, the academician, the professor, or the teacher, is above all his character, his firm and inflexible willpower and his decision to complete what he started and to resolve the problem at all costs." It is particularly important to remember that the platoon commander trains his subordinates steadily, on a daily basis, at the construction and production site, at the workplace of each soldier. Maj Gen Ivan Petrov then discussed the interpenetration and implementation of the training and education process in the organized behavior of the commander and the fact that every young officer looks for an example to emulate and the more extensively, naturally and imperceptibly he adopts this model, the faster he develops as a knowledgeable and able commander and technical manager. In discussing the role of the training process in gaining military and professional training he said: "Wherever commanders, staffs and political organs properly rate the significance of the training process discipline is higher and tasks are carried out with better quality and within the planned deadlines."

Senior Lt Yordan Bikov is the secretary of a Komsomol committee. It is this fact that was the basis of his discussion on the Komsomol and the young officers. Discussions have been held with them on problems related to their official duties. They have been members of Komsomol committees, their activities have been assessed, they have been given assignments and they have contributed to the prompt response on the part of the command to the questions raised by the young officers. Senior Lieutenant Bikov suggested that greater attention be paid at the VNVSU to providing practical knowledge related to the interaction between young officers and Komsomol organizations and the creation of a young officers' club in the Sofia garrison.

Col Mincho Minev, deputy chief of Construction Troops, stressed the need for an attentive evaluation of our attitude toward a major problem: how to involve and what conditions to create for the communist upbringing of the young generation and its comprehensive development. "The construction profession is difficult," he said. "Reality convincingly proves that we need strong characters." With the help of specific examples he backed the idea that the best specialists and organizers in the Construction Troops show their qualities above all at the projects of national importance. In discussing the professional training of future officers at the VNVSU, along with successes Col Minev indicated some weaknesses as well. Study circles, practical experience, and the choice of topics and work on and defense of diploma topics are not always consistent with the specific needs of units and projects. In connection with the upbringing of the young officers which, in his view, is not a smooth process, he recalled the words of our leading party and state leader to the effect that "mass" punishments prove not the strength but the helplessness of the respective authority or manager and his inability to work with cadres."

Officer Ivan Tashev discussed problems related to the personal example set by senior commanders and the importance of propaganda activities on the part of young officers and their participation in amateur performances and other forms of cultural life in the units and the need to detect differences in the interests of the young officers and to help the development of some of them as commanders, others as engineering and technical specialists and still others as political workers.

Officer Mitko Veselinov spoke of the connection between the experience of older personnel and the daring of the young. He described the various forms of work with young officers in his unit: solemn welcoming, organization of measures for relaxation and cultural enrichment, followed by classes on individual problems of the economic mechanism. "We daringly trust them," he said, "and promote them to higher positions."

Finally, "outside the agenda," as Officer Veselinov said, he reported to the chief of Construction Troops the fact that his unit had fulfilled its annual plan.

Lt Svetozar Zhelyazkov spoke of some specific features of the work of the officer in an installation unit and suggested that along with construction specialists the VNVSU should train installation cadres as well.

The party aktiv was also addressed by Col Gen Velko Palin, head of the BCP Central Committee Military-Administrative Department, and by Ivan Sakarev, minister of construction and architecture (summaries of their statements published separately).

Officer Yakimov read the order issued by the chief of Construction Troops presenting awards to young officers. The Komsomol Central Committee awards were presented by Pencho Sirakov; the awards of the Ministry of Construction and Architecture were presented by Minister Ivan Sakarev, and the awards of the Main Administration of Construction Troops by Lt Gen Vasil Vasilev, chief of Construction Troops.

At the end, resolutions were adopted on enhancing the entire command-organizational and party-political work with young cadres to the level of the party requirements and the assignments facing the troops.

#### Awarded Personnel

Sofia TRUDOVO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Oct 82 p 3

[Text] At the all-army meeting of the party aktiv on the work with young officers the order of the chief of Construction Troops was read on presenting awards to young officers who are leaders in the socialist competition and in the training and education of the personnel. The same order included the decision of the Komsomol Central Committee secretariat to present to Senior Lt Valentin Petrov Draganov and Lt Engineer Angel Khristov Topurov an honor certificate of the Komsomol Central Committee and a watch with a proper inscription. By the same decision 13 other people were awarded watches.

By order of the chief of Construction Troops the order of the minister of construction and architecture was read awarding nine people the Maystor Kol'o Ficheto Honor Gold Badge with a monetary reward, and the "Excellent" Honor Badge of the Ministry of Construction and Architecture and a monetary award to 21 military servicemen.

The chief of Construction Troops awarded the "For Distinction in Construction Troops" medal to nine young officers and the badge "For Labor Distinction" and a monetary award to 14 officers.

Another order proclaimed the decision of the Political Administration of the Construction Troops bureau awarding the command and political administration of Construction Troops certificate and a watch to 24 people.

#### Speech by Construction and Architecture Minister

Sofia TRUDOVO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Oct 82 pp 1, 3

[Summary of the statement by Ivan Sakarev, BCP Central Committee member and minister of construction and architecture]

[Text] "I welcomed with great pleasure the invitation to participate in the discussion of this major problem--work and development of the young officers," said Minister Ivan Sakarev in opening his statement. "We may be somewhat late but nevertheless we must take care of this problem. I listened with a great deal of attention to the report and the statements and I would like to touch on some sensitive problems, for we at the ministry are involved with them and with problems related to the development and growth of the young officers in the Construction Troops. Technical progress cannot be applied and construction cannot be intensified without young and comprehensively trained cadres. The young officers are the new influx in our ranks. They are our future."

The minister of construction and architecture discussed extensively problems of officer training and the activities of the General Blagoy Ivanov VNVSU.

"The system we use in training cadres," said he, "largely determines whether or not we have been able to create the type of commander who will assume a worthy position in our ranks." A comparison between the number and quality of VNVSU candidates of 5-6 years ago and today enables us to see the great increase in the prestige of this higher educational institution. Today the number of candidates for enrollment exceeds the number of candidates for some of our famous institutes.

After expressing his belief that the quality of training at the VNVSU has improved, Minister Ivan Sakarev asked: "Could the results of such training be even better? His own answer was that not all possibilities have been exhausted. He then shared his view on the type of cadres trained at the school-- platoon commanders or construction engineers, pointing out that neither one nor the other should be absolutized. He discussed some insufficiently well settled problems related to the school's management: "It is a question of a higher educational institution, most of whose management must consist of specialists," he said. He then discussed some unresolved problems related to VNVSU facilities, the need to upgrade the prestige of the teaching faculty and to resolve more extensively problems related to the writing and publication of text books and other student needs. We are very pleased to have our own school. There are few systems in our country which could boast of such an acquisition. That is why we must not underestimate it. This must become an engineering-application organization for Construction Troops. Proper suggestions have been made on establishing closer ties between training and practical activities. However, the appeal made here in one of the statements of reducing science to practical work is erroneous. We need the precise opposite: Practical work must be raised to the level of science. Nor should we excessively insist on the requirement that the future officers be familiar with all accountability documents they will have to deal with in the course of their future activities. We should not stuff their heads with all such forms which are subject to change. Nevertheless, a certain knowledge must be provided in this area so that they may not be accused, as they take their initial steps in the units, of being familiar with theory and stuffed with formulas instead of knowing their daily practical obligations facing the platoon commander or technical manager.

The next most important problem discussed by Minister Sakarev was that of the reception of the young officers in the units. "I am acquainted with old and experienced commanders," he said, "who pay very great attention to the young officers. However, there have been cases of a different attitude, particularly on the part of officers of a lesser rank." There was excitement in the hall from the question he asked after citing a statement by Comrade Todor Zhivkov: "It is being said a great deal here that the young must learn from their elders. Nevertheless, let us ask ourselves: actually, who should learn from whom? He who bears new knowledge or the one who was trained many years ago? This is a problem to which some consideration should be given. If the training system is as it should be, the recent graduates of a higher educational institution should teach their elders."

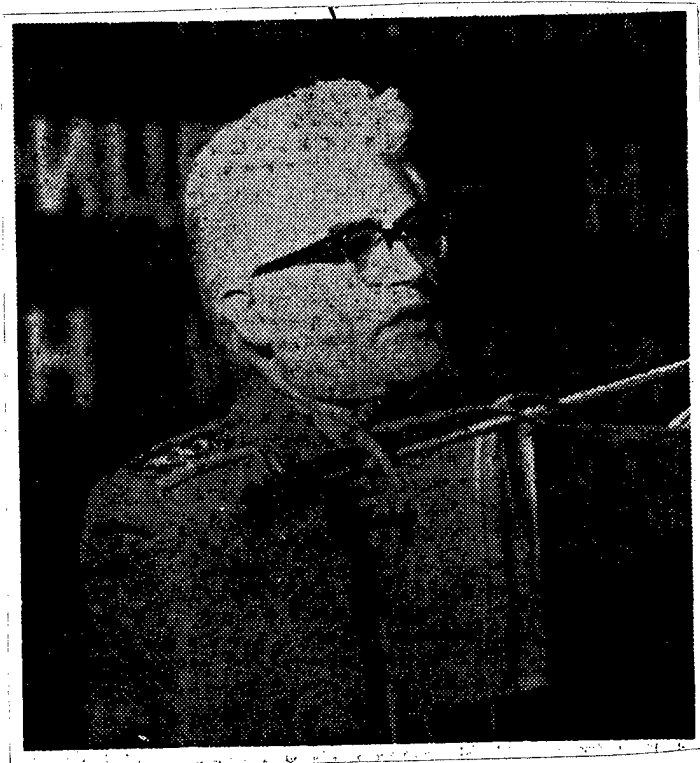
Minister Ivan Sakarev also discussed the need to create conditions for the full display of the qualities of the young officers. "If we keep him on the project after his working day," he said, "we shall be unable to provide him with

such conditions." Noting with satisfaction the fact that in recent years the Construction Troops have invariably held a leading position within the system of the Ministry of Construction and Architecture through the unit developments along the line of the TNTM [Movement for Youth Technical and Scientific Creativity], and emphasizing that young officer cadres are making a considerable contribution to this achievement, he stressed the need for the creative thinking of the young to be focused to an even greater extent on improving the organization of the production process. Discussing a case he noted at one of our projects, he said: "The young have always been indignant by poor organization. Labor is educational only when it is well organized and productive. We must develop cadres who must fight for this."

Minister Ivan Sakarev concluded with the statement that "Work with the young is a matter for all of us--not only drill, technical or political officers. We have an excellent school. We must create conditions for the penetration of the new current and progress, so that the Construction Troops may become an even stronger and better organized army, a reserve of our ministry and of our party's Central Committee."

Statement by Colonel General Palin

Sofia TRUDOVO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Oct 82 pp 1, 3



Photograph of Col Gen Velko Palin

[Text] Col Gen Velko Palin began by presenting the warm congratulations of the BCP Central Committee, the personnel of the Military-Administrative and Constructure and Architecture Departments and the BCP Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Todor Zhivkov, and wished the Construction Troops and military servicemen new successes in their construction and education activities. Then the head of the BCP Central Committee Military-Administrative Department went on to say:

The task which was set at the 12th party congress and in Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speeches and statements is "to take a new step forward in cadre work." The means and methods of cadre work must be improved. "Without universally acknowledged political, practical and moral qualities, and without specialized educational and political training no one should assume a managerial position." The stipulation expressed in the BCP Central Committee accountability report to the 12th congress is that "We cannot promote a person who has not worked among the rank and file working people in our society and is unfamiliar with the difficulties and characteristics of the work at the lower levels." This fully applies to the armed forces, including the Construction Troops.

The party members and the entire personnel of the Construction Troops are closely rallied around the April line of the BCP Central Committee and are actively working for its implementation under army conditions.

I believe that this party aktiv meeting is timely and will contribute to the further development of the young officers as valuable one-man commanders and experienced managers in the construction activities and education of the personnel. This will enhance the role and position of the young officers in the Construction Troops for the practical implementation of the party's economic policy under army conditions.

The meeting of the aktiv took place on a proper organizational and ideological-political level, in an efficient and creative atmosphere.

The questions raised in the report and most of the statements were considered in the spirit of the resolutions of the 12th party congress and Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speeches and statements and through the lens of the stricter criterion and steadily increasing requirements of the party's Central Committee on work with cadres.

The activities of commanders, political organs and party and Komsomol organizations with young officers and related to their development as specialists and direct managers and performers of production assignments were properly summed up and analyzed. The positive experience in work with young officers was described. A number of unresolved problems and tasks were formulated.

In my statement, at the risk of repeating myself, let me briefly touch upon some aspects of problems related to the development of the young officers as one-man commanders, managers of construction work and promoters of the party policy and educators of their subordinates under Construction Troop conditions.

The report submitted at the 12th party congress stipulates that "In no case should we forget that one of the basic principles under socialism is the principle of one-man command. The development of democracy must be combined with strengthening the rights and authority of the leader." Both in the Bulgarian People's Army and the Construction Troops one-man command is a basic principle in their development. This offers the commander substantial rights but also a great deal of obligations. The young officer as a one-man commander, is fully and personally responsible for the overall condition of the collective he heads. He must ensure the qualitative implementation of its assignments in terms of construction and the training and education of subordinates. He cannot develop as a commander unless he enjoys the necessary authority. This depends above all on his qualities as manager and his individual behavior with his subordinates. Through his comprehensive training and personal example a commander not only influences his subordinates but gains the moral right to demand of them to live and work in accordance with regulations and orders. Commanders, political organs and party and Komsomol organizations in the Construction Troops work for the development of the young officers as one-man commanders. As was pointed out in the report, a number of young officers have developed better as one-man commanders and are successfully combining the implementation of construction assignments with the training and education of their subordinates.

In his further statement Colonel General Palin discussed some weaknesses in the work with young officers and indicated means for achieving better results.

The officer's profession, he went on to say, is a profession of duty. It is impossible without a vocation, without the conscious and dedicated service to the people and to the lofty communist ideals. It demands total dedication of forces, energy and knowledge to the highly noble and patriotic cause of building and defending the socialist fatherland. The profession of the officer in the Construction Troops is an honorable one. It is a combination of the implementation of military and construction assignments. The young people who are now reinforcing the ranks of the armed forces were born and grew up under the conditions of victorious socialism. They are confident in their future and have a developed feeling of justice, accurate political sense and social activeness.

All of this offers a favorable prerequisite for developing high moral-combat and labor qualities in the troops.

This demands of the young officers not only to develop as highly skilled specialists but as political workers as well. "Whatever the position of a manager may be," Comrade Todor Zhivkov points out, "he must never forget that he must be a political activist." The officer is the representative of the communist party in the armed forces. In order for him to be an active sociopolitical leader he must have high level ideological-theoretical training, a communist outlook and a deep belief in the correctness of the party's policy.

The ideological wealth of Marxism-Leninism and the party's decisions give the officer an inexhaustible supply of wisdom, inspiration and energy. Their deep



mastery offers him the key to the most accurate understanding of processes in all fields of life. They arm him with a Leninist work style and a class-party approach in the solution of practical problems.

The majority of young officers in the construction troops are working to upgrade their ideological and theoretical training. They actively participate in the political life of the units and the activities of party and Komsomol organizations. A number of young officers have developed as good propagandists and agitators of party policy and are actively working to develop communist convictions in their subordinates.

In the future considerable attention must be paid in the work with young officers on their conceptual development and the development within them of profound and lasting convictions concerning the accuracy of the party's policy and party decision. The efforts now must be focused on the practical implementation of the resolutions of the 12th party congress and Comrade Todor Zhivkov's speeches on the intensification and systematic application of the new economic approach and its mechanism under Construction Troop conditions.

The Construction Troops have the necessary conditions and prerequisites for the mass application of the brigade form of labor organization based on total cost effectiveness and self-support.

Commanders, political organs and party and Komsomol organizations must provide close and systematic help to the young officers. They must be profoundly acquainted with construction work and be familiar with and apply the latest achievements of the scientific and technical revolution in construction and installation work. Every young officer must become a specialist with high military and construction culture. He must study and apply leading Bulgarian and Soviet experience in construction, training and education.

Persistent and patient work must continue to be done with the young officers. The concern of commanders and political organs for their upbringing and education must be systematic and consistent. They must be surrounded with warm care and attention. Their needs must be promptly answered and their socioliving conditions must be improved.

In conclusion, Colonel General Palin expressed his confidence that the party members in the Construction Troops will dedicate all their forces and skills to carry out the party's decisions on improving the work with young officers and will successfully carry out their assignments in construction and the training and education of the Construction Troops.

#### Lieutenant General Vasilev's Report

Sofia TRUDOVO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Oct 82 p 2

[Substantially abridged report by Lt Gen Vasil Vasilev, BCP Central Committee candidate member and chief of Construction Troops]

[Text] Comrade delegates and dear guests:

This is the second year during which the Bulgarian people, including the troops, workers and employees in the Construction Troops are tirelessly working for the implementation of the decisions of the historical 12th BCP Congress. With great labor and political upsurge the personnel of the troops have marked the exceptional events which took place during the last 2 years. To us this was a period saturated with intensive work and creativity, daring and persistence. In 1981, for the first time the Construction Troops earned the Labor Glory Banner. Loyal to the party's command of reinforcing and increasing the successes they have achieved, this year as well the troops are properly implementing their assignments and making their contribution to the building and defense of the developed socialist society.

The command and the Political Administration have called this meeting of the party aktiv to reassess our organizational and political work with young officers in the light of the stricter party requirements and the new theoretical developments and practical approaches developed by Comrade Todor Zhivkov. Throughout all development stages of the Construction Troops and all successes achieved in military-construction and training activities, officer cadres played the main role. Comrade Todor Zhivkov quite aptly defined them as the basic figures, the backbone with the help of which the party and the government are implementing their policy in the armed forces.

The importance of the problem we set ourselves is based mainly on three circumstances:

1. The strategic line of reorganization and upturn in the work with the young generation, formulated by Comrade Todor Zhivkov and systematically implemented over the past 15 years by the party's Central Committee, fully applies to us as well.

A natural renovation process of officer cadres is taking place in the troops. The 12th party congress has made new demands regarding their political, practical and moral qualities.

2. Today most of the officer corps consists of young officers. They represent the present and the future of the troops. They are the impressive basic detachment which is directly engaged in construction output and in the training and upbringing of the personnel with the help of their high educational and military-professional skills, youthful energy and dedicated labor. Essentially, these are the cadres through which, in the final account, the party resolutions, orders and instructions are converted into practical accomplishments.

3. Unresolved problems remain in our command and party-political work with the young officers. The underestimating of this vitally important task facing the troops remains.

The purpose of this meeting of the party aktiv is to sum up the acquired positive experience; to assess comprehensively, from the positions and high criteria of the party's Central Committee requirements, our work with the young officers; to penetrate unresolved problems and their reasons; to adopt and implement efficient measures leading to their development as highly conscientious

commanders, political workers and builders, specialists, staff workers, and others, as organizers and educators of their subordinates and as active fighters for the implementation of the party's decisions among the troops.

#### I. On Upgrading the Role and Responsibility of the Command, the Political Department and the Party Organizations at the General Blagoy Ivanov VNVSU in Training Future Officers

We have all the necessary reasons to report to the aktiv that in recent years the overall activities of the leadership of the school, the political department and the party and Komsomol organizations in the training and education of the students have improved. The school enjoys prestige and recognition among higher military and civilian educational institutions and our party and state public.

The command and the Political Administration consider that most of the command-teaching faculty, the political department and the party and Komsomol organizations are dealing properly with their responsible assignments and that the school is increasingly becoming a true forge of young cadres for the Construction Troops. A high percentage of officers who have completed the General Blagoy Ivanov VNVSU have good Marxist-Leninist, military, technical and specialized training and find favorable conditions for fully realizing their abilities in the troops as commanders, engineering-technical, political, staff and other cadres. The tremendous majority among them work with zeal and enthusiasm in carrying out their assignments.

This leads to the very important conclusion to the effect that never before in their development, following the victory of the socialist revolution, have the construction troops had such highly skilled junior command cadres and that it is exclusively our fault that the tremendous potential of this great detachment is not being used most fully for the even more successful implementation of the tasks facing the troops.

That is why, as we report our successes and properly acknowledge the contribution of the party members in our military academy, we properly understand that we have no grounds for complacency and that the command and political work related to the comprehensive training of the students have some weaknesses as well.

Despite the measures taken an unused reserve remains in the work of the command-teaching staff and in giving the future officers the necessary psychological spirit in coping with their complex collectives as direct organizers and managers of construction activities.

The task of converting to all-around intensification in training work and raising it to the level of the training-research process has not been completed entirely. We are faced with the major task of ensuring even more fully the practical direction of the training process. Practical training of the students in this respect is not being fully used. Graduation papers of low efficiency in terms of training and teaching work continue to be assigned.

Our general conclusion is that the General Blagoy Ivanov VNVSU is successfully resolving the responsible task of the training and education of the students.

## II. Work of Commanders, Political Organs and Party and Komsomol Organizations in the Development of the Young Officers as One-Man Commanders, Highly Skilled Construction Workers and Specialists and Political Party Workers--Promoters of Party Policy and Resolutions in the Construction Troops

We must report to the aktiv that the concern of commanders, staffs, political organs and party and Komsomol organizations for the full realization of the young officers is steadily growing and strengthening. Such concern and attention are manifested through the program on the work with young officers, the complex program for the implementation of the resolutions of the 12th BCP Congress, the regulation on the military service of the Construction Troops officer, the consideration of all internal documents consistent with the requirements of giving priority to meeting the social needs of the young officers and their further education, training, growth and moral and material incentive, the more frequent discussion by the Military Economic Council and the Political Administration Bureau and the political departments and party organizations in the units of important problems affecting the life and activities of the young officers, the sociological studies which were made, and others, are manifestations of such concern and attention. Currently we are successfully making use of a review on enhancing the combat capability of the primary party organizations in order to improve their work. The Komsomol organizations, the newspaper TRUDOVO DELO and the broadcasts for Construction Troops by the Bulgarian television and radio are making their contribution to popularizing and asserting positive experience in the training and education of the young officers.

The purpose of the organizational and political work carried out among the troops is to develop in the young officers feelings which are most fully consistent with the criteria and requirements of the BCP Central Committee and which will ensure the successful implementation of assignments.

There is a desire to develop more effective party-political work to upgrade the role and prestige of the young one-man commander. The efforts of most political departments and party organizations are focused on and are contributing to the development of comprehensively trained commanders who can find their way in all circumstances, make proper decisions and organize their implementation. As a result of intensified concern, most of the young officers are successfully developing as commanders. Positive work has been done by Senior Lt Georgi Gemov, a platoon commander, who loves his profession as an officers and is steadily improving his training and pedagogical skills. He displays initiative and persistence in the training and upbringing of his subordinates. He skillfully relies on the Komsomol society in uniting the collective.

In recent years a high percentage of commanders, political departments and party organizations have undertaken more persistently to upgrade the skill and responsibility of the young officers in their efforts to strengthen the discipline. Platoon commanders are being helped in a number of units in making the life of the military collectives more consistent with the requirements of regulations and orders. Better results have been achieved by Lieutenant Uzunov,

Lieutenant Nikolov, Senior Lieutenant Gunchev, Lieutenant Stoichkov, Lieutenant Gotsev, Senior Lieutenant Lazarov, Lieutenant Lukanov and others.

A proper approach has been adopted by most senior commanders, political departments and party organizations in enhancing the experience and skill of the young commanders in strengthening the political and moral condition of the personnel, uniting the collectives and mobilizing them in carrying out assignments. It is a pleasing fact that most young officers are combining with increasing success mandatory measures with persuasion, are successfully applying an individual approach, seeking ways to reach the soldiers' hearts and trying to develop friendly relations among the troops.

Another important direction in our work is to develop the young officers as organizers and managers of construction work, who can creatively carry out the party's economic policy in the Construction Troops. In this respect we are guided by Comrade Todor Zhivkov's stipulation to the effect that "...Today we need a different type of manager, a manager who is familiar with the nature of the economic approach and the new economic mechanism and who is applying it creatively, who penetrates into the depth of the problems, production, organization and management, who shows a feeling for the new, who makes sensible use of his rights and assumes the necessary responsibilities; a manager who is able to unite and inspire the labor collective."

Most commanders, staffs and engineering and technical workers and party and Komsomol organizations in the units in which Officers Pavlov, Nyagin, Veselinov and Zhelev serve have increased their concern for the development of the young officers as good managers.

Many party members--senior commanders and specialists--are sharing with the young officers their practical experience, knowledge and ability with increasing success, teaching them order and efficiency, initiative and independence.

There have been improvements in organizational and political work in the active involvement of the young officers in the struggle for the implementation of the resolutions of the 12th BCP Congress and the tasks proceeding from the October 1981 national conference on the intensification of construction output, development of technical progress, the rationalization movement and the movement for youth technical and scientific creativity. Successful ways and means for enhancing their individual responsibility are being sought and used skillfully. More purposeful measures are being taken to upgrade the professional skill and activeness of such cadres in surmounting inevitable difficulties and hindrances. In this respect the meeting with young officers in the unit in which Officer Simeonov serves proved to be useful.

In the struggle for the development of the platoon organization of labor and platoon cost effectiveness, platoon commanders and technical managers play a responsible role. That is why most of the political departments, staffs and specialists and party and Komsomol organizations are giving them close assistance in the application of the new organization of labor.

Better activities in this respect are taking place in the units in which Officers Georgiev, Antonov, Naydenov, Velez, and Mateev serve. Positive experience has been gained by the command, party organization and specialists in Officer Sotirov's unit, in which most of the platoons are successfully applying the platoon organization and platoon cost effectiveness systems. It is pleasing that a number of young commanders and technical managers have adopted a responsible attitude toward this important assignment. Let us give as an example Lieutenant Mutafov, who is the commander of a complex platoon at the reconstruction of the Georgi Damyanov Copper Extraction Combine and Senior Lieutenant Atanasov, who is a platoon commander at project Zh No 10 in Plovdiv. Production-economic planning in their platoons is more precise. The people are skillfully used in finding greater possibilities. Extensive use is being made of the experience of the four men. The desire is apparent to observe the stipulations of the normative documents and, which is particularly important, work projects are issued and reported on a daily basis. Competition and piece-rate work are extensively applied. This explains the high results achieved by these united collectives.

Let us also not fail to note that as highly trained young officers join the units and projects better possibilities and opportunities are created to enhance the quality of construction and insulation work and making it more fully consistent with the requirements of the 12th BCP Congress. Today many senior commanders, specialists and political workers are engaged in purposeful organizational and political work with platoon commanders and technicians in steadily enhancing their criteria, knowledge and capabilities. They share leading experience, encourage those who work well and reprimand those who show carelessness. Encouraging efforts and experience in this respect are seen in the units in which Officers Zhelev, Veselinov, Pavlov and other serve.

The command and the Political Administration consider that as a result of the improved work and individual efforts and feelings of responsibility and persistence, the number of young officers who are increasingly proving their qualities, developing and asserting themselves as competent managers of the construction process along its entire chain--planning, organization, execution and accountability--is rising steadily. Without mentioning all of them, let us give as an example party member Senior Lieutenant Vasil Vasilev at the Madara KTA in Shumen. As platoon commander and technician and now as chief engineer he firmly follows the line of study and hard work, self-exigency and strictness, initiative and irreconcilability. All of this enables him to develop rapidly as a modern construction specialist. Such high and demanding assessment equally applies to Senior Lieutenant Vasilev employed at the Georgi Damyanov Copper Extraction Combine.

Our next basic task is the development of the young officers as active political workers--promoters of the party's policy and resolutions in the Construction Troops. The guiding principle in command-organizational and party-political work in this direction stems from Comrade Todor Zhivkov's stipulation that "Our army needs party-minded people, with deep ideological convictions and political training, people who are most closely linked with the military servicemen,... who are always concerned with their subordinates, respect their human dignity, are familiar with their needs and feelings, give them the necessary aid on time and are able to find a way to reach the heart of the soldier."

Commanders, political departments and party organizations are improving their concern for upgrading the ideological and theoretical training of the young officers and to involve them in ideological work. To this effect Marxist-Leninist training classes are being held along with permanent seminars, lectures, reports and practical science conferences. As a result of the increased concern and attention, most young officers are showing greater interest and efforts in the further enhancement of their ideological and theoretical training. They are developing with increasing success as good propagandizers of party and government decisions. They are strengthening their relations with their subordinates and improving their skills of working with them. Fruitful work is being done in this respect by Officers Zhelev, Simeonov, Nyagin, Bakurdzhiev, Petkov, Kurbanov, Katsarski and many others. Today most young officers are involved and engaged in individual political work. They try to become better acquainted with their subordinates in order to determine their needs and interests, be constantly in contact with them and unite their collectives. It is indicative that 35 percent of them are actively participating in agitation collectives; 42 percent are engaged in cultural and educational work and 36 percent are engaged in amateur art performances and mass sports.

The party-political work taking place in the units and the involvement of young officers in it have a positive impact on their development as political leaders. The political departments, deputy commanders for political affairs and party and Komsomol managements and organizations in many units are being more successful in resolving this important problem. A high percentage of the young officers are actively participating in the political life of the collectives and in the activities of the party organizations. The party nucleus among them is increasing steadily.

The troops are successfully carrying out Comrade Todor Zhivkov's instruction to the effect that the main realm of political manifestation and realization of the young party members is among the Komsomol and the youth. Today 73.3 percent of the young officers are involved in active Komsomol work. Most of them are skillfully relying on the help of the Komsomol societies and are seeking and using with increasing success their help in carrying out their assignments. Positive experience has been acquired by Lt Georgi Pavlov as secretary of the party organization and member of the Komsomol committee. He is fulfilling his social obligations impeccably. He is an active participant in the movement for youth technical and scientific creativity and is involved in mass-political work. He enjoys good prestige in the collective. Also very good in this respect are young party members Lieutenant Zhivkov, Senior Lieutenant Pavlov, Lieutenant Zhelyazkov, Lieutenant Mikhaylov, Senior Lieutenant Vasilev, Senior Lieutenant Petrov and many others.

The command and the Political Administration consider that our organizational and party work for the all-around development and full realization of the qualities of the young officers are properly organized. Unquestionable successes have been achieved and the tremendous majority among them work with dedication and a high feeling of responsibility. This is a great gain and an important prerequisite for the even more successful implementation of all

assignments which the party's Central Committee and the government issue the Construction Troops.

While emphasizing such accomplishments, we clearly realize that we will not meet the strict party requirements and would be committing a gross error if we fail to see weaknesses and unresolved problems and the great reserves at our disposal, concealed behind great successes, and if we fail to analyze them critically and fail to adopt effective measures decisively to improve our work with the young officers.

It is unquestionably true, the speaker goes on to say, that these weaknesses hardly determine the aspect of the young officers in the Construction Troops. However, they indicate that the organizational and political work we have done has insufficiently affected the limiting and prevention of such errors. A number of party members groundlessly continue to believe that the fault lies exclusively in the young officers and fail to see their own place and responsibility. Insufficient preventive educational work is being done. In this respect the great opportunities of officer honor courts are being used extremely unsatisfactorily.

The command and the Political Administration believe that some unresolved problems remain in our work on developing the young officers as organizers and managers of construction and economic activities. Let us point out above all that we are showing insufficient concern for upgrading and improving the skill of platoon commanders and technicians. The program is not being entirely fulfilled in a number of units. Erroneous concepts shown by some party members in the Main Administration of Construction Troops and the managements of units on problems of the skills of junior command cadres as construction specialists are being eliminated too slowly. That is why at this stage we have not developed a unified system for their organized training. Many commanding officers find no time for organized training and improvement of skills. Studies have indicated that this is a problem of attitude and approach and of the initiative of senior commanders, engineering and technical workers, staffs, political departments and party managements rather than lack of time.

Another unresolved problem is that we are not dedicating adequate concern to develop a proper work style among the young specialists who are ensuring the overall implementation of the congress' stipulations of accelerated intensification of construction work. Not everywhere have normal conditions been developed for displaying and encouraging the organization, initiative, innovativeness and autonomy in economic activities of platoon commanders and young engineering and technical personnel. The overall multiple-stage "responsibility" in some of the projects is not having a positive influence on their development as construction cadres. This deprives them of the possibility of thinking independently, accustoms them to work one day at a time and eliminates their feeling of responsibility.

Practical experience has convincingly proved that burdening young cadres with a number of tasks without providing conditions for their implementation leads to confusion, demobilization and idleness. The "rushing" in a number of projects inevitably leads to the development of an abnormal situation and to neglect of



the stipulations of normative documents, orders and prescriptions. The tolerance which has developed in a number of areas for a type of approach has led a number of young officers into developing such various work methods.

The command and the Political Administration consider that some commanders and party organizations are not systematically working to surmount manifestations of technocracy in the activities of some young officers and underestimating of command and economic activities. This is the reason for which tasks and difficulties to be surmounted are not always explained and no specific measures are taken to persuade and mobilize the military personnel.

Let us point out in this connection that some party managements and organizations insufficiently teach and demand of the young officers to engage in daily individual political work, to be in direct contact with their subordinates, to discuss with them intimately and to explain to them in accessible terms the party's policy and decisions.

On further improving the work of commanders, political organs and party organizations on the proper selection and development of young officers and their material-living conditions.

It is an unquestionable truth that in recent years great attention has been paid to such problems. Many efforts have been made and positive results have been achieved. In their work with young officer cadres the leadership of the forces, the Political Administration, and commanders, political departments and party organizations are guided by the party program and bylaws and the stipulations of the 12th BCP Congress to the effect that their selection, promotion and development must be based on their political, practical and moral qualities and on the manner in which they contribute to the successful solution of problems through their actions and behavior.

Improvements have been noted above all in the selection and reinforcement of the forces with young officers. The weaknesses which were indicated are being successfully eliminated in the spirit of the BCP Central Committee instructions. Efforts are being made to ensure the fuller observance of the Leninist stipulations of a class-party approach in cadre selection.

It can be clearly stated that the desire may be noted in the troops systematically to implement the party's Central Committee line of surrounding the young cadres with respect and trust, upgrading their self-confidence and authority and creating favorable conditions for the creative display and development of their capabilities. Considerable improvements have been made in the attitude and specific nature of the work of most leaderships, staffs and political organs in terms of introducing them to their service. Short-term courses, rituals and meetings with newly-commissioned young officers are organized.

Normal conditions have been developed in the troops for upgrading the skills and enhancing and developing the young officers. Real possibilities have been provided for upgrading their education and postgraduate studies at the VNVSU, the Military Academy, the Higher Military Schools, the AONSU [Academy of Social

Sciences and Social Management] and other VUZs in the country. Periodically the VNVSU, the Military Academy and AONSU sponsor courses for upgrading the skills of some young officers. Successful use is being made of monthly classes in Marxist-Leninist, command and special training.

The managements of the Construction Troops and the units, political departments and party organizations are implementing specific measures to ensure the fuller satisfaction of the material needs of the young officers. The respective program which was formulated in this respect is being successfully implemented. Such problems are being resolved relatively better in the units in which Officers Zhelev, Boyadzhiev, Penchev and Pavlov are serving.

As a result of commander-organizational and party-political work related to the proper selection, development and material satisfaction of the needs of the young officers, the number of people who accept the profession of officer as their career and vocation and are working with a high feeling of responsibility for their development and full realization is growing.

Here, in front of the aktiv, we must report with a feeling of responsibility and self-criticism, that unresolved problems remain. No other than precisely commanders, political organizations and party members bear the full responsibility for the fact that our cadre work with the young officers is not fully consistent with the requirements of the party's Central Committee. Without belittling the persistent efforts of the tremendous majority of cadres and the great successes achieved in the selection, training, upbringing and development of the young commanders, the existing weaknesses indicate that the decisions and instructions of the BCP Central Committee in this respect have not been fully implemented and the program of the command and the Political Administration is not being fully carried out.

The reasons for such weaknesses were then exposed and analyzed.

The most immediate tasks were formulated at the end of the report, as follows:

Above all, it is necessary to determine the nature of the requirements and criteria set by the party on the proper selection, training, upbringing and development of the young officers accurately and profoundly. The resolutions of the 12th congress and the stipulations of the BCP Central Committee must become the guiding principles of all party members and official and party organs. The efforts of senior commanders, political organs and all party organizations must be focused on decisively improving the style and methods of work of the cadres with young officers. The criteria of the individual assessment of each party organ and party organization and individual party member and manager must be the following: what are they accomplishing to ensure the proper development, establishment and realization of the young officers?

The command and the party-political and teaching activities at the General Blagoy Ivanov VNVSU must intensify even further their concern and attention in the practical line taken in the training and educational work with the students, making it better consistent with the requirements of the July 1979 BCP

Central Committee plenum and the tasks of the Construction Troops and decisively enhancing the responsibility of all cadres in the school regarding the selection, training, education and upbringing of the students.

Commanders, political departments, party organizations and party members in the units and subunits must improve even further their work in the all-round development, establishment and growth of the young officers. An atmosphere of warm fatherly concern and attention, trust and respect must be created. They must be given close aid and kept under steady supervision. Greater attention must be paid to the deeper study of their characters and strict but just exigency must be displayed regarding their negative actions. Normal conditions for their full development must be provided. Promising young officers must be given responsible positions more daringly. Particular attention must be paid to ensuring the personal example and proper attitude of senior commanders and chiefs toward their subordinates.

The efforts of commanders, staffs, political departments and party and Komsomol organizations must be focused on the development of the young officers as one-man commanders, in order to enhance the level of their tactical, professional and specialized training and to upgrade their ability and skill in the course of their high quality training process.

Our urgent and particularly important task is to enhance the role and responsibility of the young officers in strengthening discipline in the platoons. It is very important to teach them how to organize the life and activities of their subordinates in accordance with regulations, orders and instructions, and to use the power of public opinion in developing discipline among their subordinates. They must be able to develop united collectives and statutory relations with their subordinates. They must study their needs and moods and to do everything possible to meet their legitimate requirements.

Commanders, political organs and party organizations must provide more systematic and close aid to the young officers so that they may extensively master construction work, become the bearers of scientific and technical progress and the promoters of TNTM [Movement for Youth Technical and Scientific Creativity], and dedicate systematic concern for the maintenance and most efficient utilization of mechanization, automotive transportation facilities and mechanized manual tools. They must successfully apply the new economic mechanism and be concerned economic managers using most thriftily manpower and construction materials. They must learn how to resolve by themselves complex problems in the development of the projects, make extensive use of competition and the piece rate method, and issue and record the work of the troops on a daily basis.

All official and party organs must display even greater care and attention to the ideological-political training and conceptual development of the young officers and the enhancement of their political consciousness and profound belief in party policy. They must be actively involved in the sociopolitical life of the collectives and learn how personally to organize and conduct political-educational work with subordinates. Their skill in work within and with party and Komsomol organizations must be upgraded steadily.

The BCP Central Committee stipulation and strict observance and application of the Leninist principle governing the selection of cadres based on their political, practical and moral qualities must be the guiding principal in work with young cadres.

Concern for resolving the housing problem and ensuring the cultural recreation of young officers and their families must be improved decisively. Possibilities must be sought mainly and above all in improving the organization of the work and the extensive use and application of intensive factors in construction output through the accelerated and qualitative building of capital construction projects for internal use.

The work of commanders, political departments and party and Komsomol organizations in the training and education of the young officers must be steady, persistent and adamant, showing tactfulness and ability on a daily basis. The main thing is to develop in the young officers a high feeling of responsibility for duty, loyalty and dedication to socialism and communism and to develop in them the view that they are the promoters of the party's policies, ideas and resolutions in the Construction Troops and that they are the party's political workers. Their personal responsibility for their comprehensive development must be enhanced.

Speaking on behalf of the command and the Political Administration, the speaker expressed the confidence that the meeting of the party aktiv will discuss the formulated problems from the positions of the strict BCP Central Committee requirements and will take efficient measures for the development of the young officers as valuable commanders, political workers and specialists with high ideological-political, military and specialized training. We are convinced, the report stated, that commanders, political departments, party organizations and party members in the Construction Troops will continue to rally the young officers around the policy and decisions of the BCP Central Committee, to enhance their individual responsibility, and to inspire and mobilize them for the further implementation of the responsible assignments set by the 12th BCP Congress and the study and implementation of the new theoretical developments and practical approaches formulated in the reports, speeches and statements made by Comrade Todor Zhivkov following the 12th party congress.

The report expressed the confidence that the young officers will properly assess the concern for them shown by the party and the command and, together with the entire personnel of the troops, will dedicate all their strength, knowledge and skill to the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the responsible construction assignments, the target program and the plan for implementation, training and upbringing of the young generation in a spirit of boundless love and loyalty to the BCP and our socialist homeland, the fraternal Soviet Union and the great cause of socialism and communism.

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SUPREME COURT CHAIRMAN VIEWS CRIME RATE, CAUSES

AU131450 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 10 Dec 82 p 4

[Article by Dr Jan Bencura, chairman of the Supreme Court of the Slovak Socialist Republic: "Demanding Discipline Is Not Being Anti-Social"]

[Excerpts] The committees of the Slovak National Council are currently discussing a report on the state of the socialist legality that has been submitted by the prosecutor general and the Supreme Court of the Slovak Socialist Republic.

The report assesses the development of crime in general and the state of society's protection against criminal activity. The generalized findings from the courts' supervision and the number of sentenced offenders, facts on which the report is based, enable the conclusion that in the last 10 years there has been an overall decline in the level of committed punishable acts and offenses. This decline is documented, among other things, by the crime index, that is, the number of sentenced persons per 10,000 legally liable persons. For example, with respect to criminal acts the index declined from 99 in 1972 to 74 in 1981, and with respect to lesser offenses from 37 to 31. Statistical data for the first 6 months of 1982 show that this trend continues this year as well. It is true, however, that the development of crime in the eighties has been marked by considerable ups and downs. The least number of sentenced persons was in the 1976-1980 period. Since then, their number has been slightly increasing. These findings confirm the known fact that even under socialism crime does not vanish automatically and that the elimination of antisocial phenomena requires more effective forms and measures in preventive and educational work as well as in utilizing the socialist state's instruments of power.

Free of Simplifying Notions

In characterizing the causes of crime, in the past, taking a narrow view, we often concentrated just on the relics of the previous social systems in people's minds and on the impact of the imperialist world. This unpropitious heritage undoubtedly continues to manifest itself in our society in the form of unhealthy individualism, in placing oneself above others, in the cultivation of egoism and greed. However, it is necessary to realize that also various disproportions in our society, caused by poor standard of

managerial, organizational and control activity, have an impact on the state of crime. Besides, the state of crime is also influenced by the environment, be it the family situation (disorderly marriages, strife, divorces, alcoholism) or the situation at school, the place of work or places of leisure (poor personal example, discrepancy between words and deeds). That is why the struggle against crime must concentrate on eliminating all its causes.

What has been the structure of criminal activity in the past few years? Most criminal acts involved violations of civil coexistence, assaults on life and health and economic crime. These forms accounted for almost 75 percent of all crime. What is serious, in the negative sense of the word, is the fact that in the past few years there has not been any decline in violent criminal acts, which have the greatest negative repercussion among the public. A greater readiness on the part of citizens to assist the law-enforcing bodies would effectively contribute to limiting them.

#### Recidivism, Alcoholism...

We continue to regard recidivism, alcoholism and the problem of Gypsy citizens as the factors having the gravest impact on the crime rate. In the period under scrutiny, that means in the last 2 years, almost one-third of all offenders were sentenced for repeated criminal activity. Most frequently, the recidivists have been committing the punishable act of withholding alimony payments (accounting for 74.7 percent of all such cases), parasitism (61.4 percent) and attacks on public figures (53.3 percent). In many cases these habitual offenders might be helped by society's more effective assistance, especially in integrating them in the work process.

The high consumption of alcohol is negatively reflected in the crime rate. The population's expenditures for alcoholic beverages keep increasing every year, and the per capita consumption of spirits in the Slovak Socialist Republic is beginning to hold an alarming place in the world ranking. One of the consequences is that in 1980 as many as 34.8 percent of all criminal acts were committed under the influence of alcohol. In 1981 this proportion increased to 37.7 percent. The steps taken by the state bodies so far have proved to be hardly effective. The inconsistency in dealing with this problem causes unfathomable social losses.

In the Slovak Socialist Republic, also the Gypsy population constitutes a problem. Though it accounts for only 4.1 percent of the population, its share in the total number of sentenced persons in 1980 was 15.1 percent and last year it was 14.5 percent. They are perpetrators of the most severe violent criminal acts such as robberies (45.3 percent) and rapes (33.3 percent) as well as of parasitism (28.2 percent). The highest crime rate of the Gypsy population is in the east Slovak region.

Even though our socialist society is paying systematic attention to the solution of the Gypsy problem, to making them adopt the way of life of the rest of the population, the present findings of party and state bodies and indications given by many citizens show the need to more consistently fulfill the measures adopted by the government of the Slovak Socialist Republic but also to more exactly assess the existing forms of work in dealing with the problem in general.

CSO: 2400/107

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### BRIEFS

HUSAK SPEECHES, ARTICLES PUBLISHED--The Svoboda Publishing House has just published selected speeches and articles by Comrade Gustav Husak in two volumes. They contain party documents, congress reports and speeches submitted by CPCZ Central Committee sessions and at festive sessions of party and state bodies on significant Czechoslovak and international anniversaries in the period 1969-81. The selection also contains Comrade Gustav Husak's speeches at CPSU congresses, during meetings with top Soviet party and state representatives, and during other important international events. A significant part of the two-volume anthology are theoretical articles, which analyze and generalize experience acquired on the historic path of building and developing socialism in Czechoslovakia. The selected speeches and articles convincingly testify to Comrade Gustav Husak's unceasing work for our people's welfare and happiness. By their theoretical profundity and concrete nature the speeches and articles are a document of a realistic, wise and deeply Marxist-Leninist view of the purpose and aim of our historical path in building the new society; they are thus a significant source of instruction for the present and future. [Text] [AU201259 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Dec 82 p 1]

CSO: 2400/107

POSITIVE, NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF FRG-GDR BASIC TREATY ANALYZED

Hamburg DIE WELT in German 20 Dec 82 p 7

/Article by Jens Hacker: "Agreeing Only to Disagree: Basic Treaty Now Ten Years Old--Other Agreements Could Be Reached Between the Federal Republic and the 'GDR'"

/Text/ The signing of the "Treaty on the Bases of Relations Between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic" (Basic Treaty) on 21 December 1972 represented one of the most important milestones in FRG history. The conclusion of the Basic Treaty depended on several conditions. In view of the political situation in the Soviet Bloc, the SPD/FDP Federal Government, in office since the fall of 1969, had promptly linked its "new German policy" with the "new Eastern policy." It was mainly concerned to arrive at an accommodation with the communist countries and admitted the USSR's priority status. In 1970 this policy resulted in the conclusion of treaties with the Soviet Union and Poland, that included the "definite abandonment of the use of force" by postulating the abandonment of the use or the threat of the use of force, the principle of the inviolability of borders and the abandonment of territorial claims.

Given the majorities in the Bundestag it was obvious by early 1971 that the fate of the Moscow and Warsaw treaties depended on the successful conclusion of the Four-Power negotiations on Berlin, initiated in late March 1970. The USSR's strong interest in the ratification of the German-Soviet Treaty and the convocation of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) caused it to adopt a softer line in the Berlin negotiations, so that the Four-Power Agreement on Berlin was signed on 3 September 1971. The Berlin Agreement (and this was its outstanding feature) offered a first in that the Soviet Union explicitly recognized and guaranteed the right of civilian transit traffic to and from Berlin.

The four powers had agreed that the competent German authorities should negotiate the necessary supplementary agreements to the Berlin Treaty. Consequently important arrangements, decisively settling inner-German communications to this day, were signed by Bonn and East Berlin in fall 1971, that is before the conclusion of the Basic Treaty. They include the protocol on posts and telecommunications of 30 September 1971 and the agreement (signed by the FRG and GDR governments on 17 December 1971) on the transit traffic of civilians and freight between the FRG and West Berlin. This latter and its accompanying documents were incorporated in the final minutes of the Four-Power Treaty and thus officially approved by the four Allies. Signed subsequently were the agreements of 20 December 1971 between the Berlin Senate and the GDR Government on easing and improving tourist and visitors' traffic as well as on settling the question of enclaves by an exchange of territories.



Another significant milestone in inner-German relations before the conclusion of the Basic Treaty was the 26 May 1972 FRG-GDR Treaty on Transportation. The great practical benefits of the transit agreement and the transportation treaty as well as their accompanying documents are evident to everyone every day. The arrangements regarding transit and visitors' traffic are for the most part working quite smoothly.

Once the German Bundestag had approved the Moscow and Warsaw treaties in 17 May 1972, the transportation treaty was signed on 26 May 1972 and the final minutes of the Four-Power Treaty on Berlin on 3 June 1972 (taking effect on this day were the Berlin Treaty as well as the German-Soviet and the German-Polish treaties), inner-German exchanges of opinion began on 15 June 1972. They culminated in the signing of the Basic Treaty and its supplementary documents on 21 December 1972. It was obvious right from the start that the contractual accommodation with the GDR would present the greatest difficulties, because it was not confined merely to the abandonment of the use of force and the acceptance of the inner-German line of demarcation as a national border but aimed in particular to ease the hardships of the people of divided Germany.

#### Bonn Insists on Claiming the Continued Existence of the German Nation

Though agreeing on important issues, the two parties pursued different goals with regard to the Basic Treaty. The GDR endeavored as far as possible to classify the body of inner-German treaties with international law and interpret it as the reflection of the "German question" deemed to have been decided and settled. On the other hand, both the Federal Government then in office as well as the parliamentary opposition emphasized those elements in the Basic Treaty, that reflected the special inner-German relationship. The parties represented in the Bundestag also agreed that the Basic Treaty was to settle the relations between the two states in Germany only temporarily, in the meaning of an accommodation. It is thus of a piece with the treaties concluded by the FRG in 1970 with the Soviet Union and Poland.

Any analysis of the Basic Treaty must include the Federal Constitutional Court's 31 July 1973 verdict as well as the Eastern treaties. That decision unanimously approved the legislation on the Basic Treaty as being compatible "with the constitution in the interpretation offered by the justifying clauses" while, at the same time, defining the scope of the further organization of legal relations between the two states in Germany. Though specific statements included in the verdict on the Basic Treaty have been strongly attacked, the beneficial effects should not be overlooked: It developed a great deal of integrationist force both in the field of politics and scholarship because, in the years from late 1969 when the SPD/FDP Federal Government proclaimed its "new Eastern and Germany policy," strident disputes were carried on not only between the Federal Government and its supporting parties on the one hand and the opposition on the other, but also among scholars of constitutional and international law. The 31 July 1973 decision by the supreme German court has resulted in a new doctrine on Germany politics and legislation, that was largely accepted by the (then) opposition also.

It had always been certain that the Basic Treaty would include no statements whatever on the "reunification" or "unification of Germany." The treaty assumes the division of Germany, and both parties were able only to arrive at an agreement to

disagree on basic issues, including the "national question," in other words to affirm that theirs were "different interpretations." This formula permitted the FRG to maintain its view of the continuing existence of the German nation, while the GDR was free to retain its doctrine of the two nations in Germany.

#### East Berlin Continues its "Demarcation"

The Basic Treaty did not legalize the division of Germany. The "Germany issue" remains an open question in terms of the law and of politics. This important conclusion arises for one from the preamble and for the other from the noli tangere clause rooted in article 9 as well as the FRG Government's letter on German unity addressed to the GDR Government on 21 December 1972. The noli tangere clauses included in the Moscow and Warsaw as well as the Basic treaties ensure that the Allies' reserve rights remain untouched. Contrary to the occasionally expressed view that the Germany Treaty between the three Western Allies and the FRG, in effect since 5 May 1955, has dwindled into a "mere formality," it should be noted that it continues in general to have full validity. The Federal Constitutional Court also stressed that article 7 of the Germany Treaty remains untouched. "Consequently the Federal Republic and the three powers continue to be contractually obligated to collaborate 'by peaceful means to realize their common goal: A reunited Germany with a free and democratic constitution similar to that of the Federal Republic'."

The FRG and the GDR therefore continue to be parts of a total Germany, and the borders will not be finally settled until the conclusion of a peace treaty. Neither the Eastern treaties nor the Basic Treaty anticipate a final settlement of the Germany question in an eventual peace treaty. Upon the conclusion of the Moscow Treaty the Federal Government conveyed a letter to the Soviet Government. This emphasized that the Basic Treaty did not contradict the FRG's political goal "to work for a state of peace in Europe, by which the German people would regain its unity in free self-determination."

The Federal Government of the time was well advised not to follow a quite influential trend of Germany political journalism which "believed" in the late 1960's and early 1970's that the legal institution of international recognition could achieve the rapprochement of the two states in Germany in the meaning of the FRG's self-interpretation and, in addition, the desired internal liberalization of the GDR. Those who argued this way badly overestimated the influence of Bonn's Germany policies and were bitterly disappointed. Many who had believed themselves astute observers of the inner-German scene did not renounce their illusions until they were compelled to admit--even after the conclusion of the Basic Treaty--that nothing had changed in the GDR's evaluation of its own interests, and that East Berlin was still pursuing constantly new variations of the policy of "demarcation" instead of a policy of "rapprochement."

Nor did the Federal Government obey those unbidden advisers who, at the turn of 1969/1970, spied an opportunity to consign German history to the scrap heap: *Finis Germaniae*. Some of these writers did not hesitate to abandon not only all thought of a sovereign reunited Germany but also of the German people's identity as such. In 1970 historian Hellmut Diwald offered the most radical and uncompromising view. He called for "declaring our history bankrupt" and opined that "the 'German nation'

has long since been carried to its grave. We must have the decency of informing those bereaved family members who are still not aware of that event."

In important supplements to the Basic Treaty both parties included agreements on improving inner-German communications. That applies to working facilities for reporters, for instance, to family reunions, tourism, noncommercial freight traffic, the establishment of border crossing posts and postal and telecommunication facilities. The two parties' reservations on the issue of citizenship turned out to be particularly significant.

Further agreements in many fields were concluded between the FRG and the GDR in the years since ratification of the Basic Treaty. Let us mention only such matters as tourism, posts and telecommunications, health care, sports and veterinary concerns. On 30 April 1980 the Federal Government and the GDR arrived at the fourth transportation agreement since the effective date of the Basic Treaty. These agreements sensibly improved traffic links between Berlin and the federal territory. For the GDR they also signified the receipt of substantial amounts of foreign exchange.

Unfortunately since the mid-1970's (and disregarding a few exceptions), Bonn's treaty policy has confined itself to the conclusion of traffic agreements referring to access to Berlin. When we study the arrangements provided for in the appendix to article 7 of the Basic Treaty, we note that it has not yet been possible to arrive at a settlement in four important areas: The arrangements envisaged in the field of law, especially civil and penal law, cannot be achieved as long as the GDR persists in its attitude to the citizenship question. The conclusion of an agreement on cooperation in science and technology failed to overcome the obstacle of the inclusion of West Berlin. In March 1975 the GDR blocked the negotiations on a cultural agreement, begun in late November 1973, when it made their successful conclusion conditional on the (legally) unjustified transfer of Prussian cultural property.

In the fall of 1980 the SED leaders subjected inner-German relations to a severe test. On 9 October 1980 the GDR issued the "Order on the Conduct of a Mandatory Minimum Exchange of Payment Media." This order drastically raised the rates of mandatory exchange for Western visitors and resulted in a considerable decline in tourism from the FRG to the GDR and from West Berlin to East Berlin. Nor was the GDR satisfied with this clear violation of the operative basis of the tourism and visitor arrangement: Four days later, on 13 October 1980, SED chief Honecker explained in the course of a speech in Gera how much the GDR had switched to a radical and uncompromising demarcation against Bonn. Honecker not only demanded that "the FRG should at last come to grips with the realities in the matter of GDR citizenship because, in the long run, it will not be able to help doing so." He also called for the transformation of the permanent delegations to embassies and for the acceptance of the GDR's attitude in the dispute about the Elbe border.

In mid-December 1981 Honecker repeated the maximum demands of 13 October 1980 in his discussions with Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. He also considered it appropriate to confront the new Federal Government, in office since 1 October 1982, with these same claims. The upgrading of the permanent delegations to embassies is not even subject to discussion. The agreement included in article 8 of the Basic Treaty is an important element in the continuing inner-German relations. Nor is the new

Federal Government prepared to meet the GDR's demand for moving the existing border on the Elbe's northeastern bank to "midstream." Just as its predecessor, the new Federal Government also totally rejects any change in the effective German citizenship law to conform with the GDR interpretation. The Federal Constitutional Court was a great pains to ensure that any idea involving the confinement of German citizenship to residents of the FRG (something the GDR leaders would dearly like) should be incompatible with the constitution. In this matter we must not neglect the political and psychological implications in addition to legal aspects. Most GDR citizens by far still feel themselves Germans and members of the undivided German nation, not only of the separate socialist GDR nation prescribed by the SED leaders. This is certainly due in no small measure to the fact that--according to the laws of the Federal Republic of Germany--they are German citizens.

11698

CSO: 2300/106

'NEPSZABADSAG' ON PCI CONGRESS DOCUMENT

LD102000 Budapest MTI in English 1700 GMT 10 Dec 82

[Text] Budapest, December 10 (MTI)--"We have always acknowledged the right, even the duty of our Italian fraternal party to find and show the most appropriate path best suited to the concrete historic and social conditions of Italy that will take the country to socialism. This does not exclude, rather calls for a critical assessment of the experiences of the socialist countries and consideration of their positive and negative results," writes the Rome correspondent of "NEPSZABADSAG" in the Friday edition of the daily analysing those chapters of the Italian Communist Party's congressional document which discuss the replacement of the prevailing Italian social system and the future of socialism.

"It is one thing to evaluate the experiences and it is another to make categorical and generalizing statements which spring from inadequate consideration or ignorance of the particular historical and evolutionary characteristics and present conditions of the socialist countries."

"What else could be the motive behind the following statement: 'The dynamism, represented by the Soviet political, governmental and ideological model, and embodied by the historical experience of socialism, is exhausted?' Hearing this thesis, one cannot avoid asking: How is it possible that the Soviet Union, in the stage of the alleged 'exhaustion' is still capable of meeting simultaneously the economic and political challenge of the extreme circles of American imperialism, maintains the military balance and continues to rapidly develop the production of consumer goods? By doing so it not only guarantees the preservation of world peace but--among other things--enables the West European countries to be more independent in their policy and economy from the United States, and to continue the East-West dialogue that is a highly important factor of world peace."

The correspondent writes:

"One cannot ignore those efforts and reforms of the socialist countries which are imbued with the same spirit that the document puts like this: '...Struggle for socialism will not make progress unless coupled with ever fuller assertion of democracy.' Strengthening of the democratic features of state life, decentralization, broadening of independence in economic

management, public life democracy, improvement of the election system and the versatility of cultural life are no mere efforts in the socialist countries. Every country can produce also achievements commensurate with its capacities and possibilities and considerable efforts are being made to make progress on this road."

"The CPSU and the Soviet state administration are making steps in this direction with the responsibility and consideration that their extremely important role in the world commands," the author writes. He recalls that the Italian press has also given great publicity to the most recent Soviet positions and programs "let us mention alone the latest speech of Yuriy Andropov, secretary-general of the CPSU CC."

"The almost dogmatic insistence on the thesis on the 'exhaustion' of dynamism carries the danger of ignoring real changes and weakening confidence in the socialist countries' ability to develop and introduce reforms, even belatedly and often--unfortunately--at the cost of shocks. Both dangers apparent in the position of the political document on the Polish situation. This is no more than the repetition of the relevant part of the 1982 Central Committee document. Accordingly, the state of emergency 'has aggravated the situation with the risk that there will be no way out.' In contrast, the developments in Poland are bearing the generally known signs of consolidation in economy, in the isolation of extreme forces, in all-out normalization of life and progress towards national unity," runs the article. Finally, referring to the worldwide development and difficult times of the workers movement, he states: "Socialism has become a world system, with and in spite of these difficulties. It has become a power without which the ICP document could not speak of the timeliness and possibility of beginning a new historic era."

CSO; 2500/96

## HUNGARY

### BRIEFS

KADAR MEETS PCI DELEGATION--Budapest--The PCI delegation on an official visit to Hungary at the invitation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] Central Committee, composed of Directorate member Comrade Paolo Bufalini and Foreign Section Deputy Chief Comrade Rodolfo Mechini, was received in Budapest yesterday by Comrade Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee. During the lengthy and cordial conversation there was an exchange of respective opinions on the most important issues of international life, on both parties' activities, on the development of their relations and on certain problems of the international communist and workers movement. In the previous days Comrades Bufalini and Mechini had met with MSZMP Central Committee Secretariat member Comrade Peter Varkonyi, Central Committee member Matyas Szuros and Gyula Horn. [Unattributed report] [Text] [PM221349 Rome L'UNITA in Italian 18 Dec 82 p 1]

CSO: 2020/12

GENERAL WRITES ON ARMY ROLE AFTER MARTIAL LAW

AU151014 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 11-12 Dec 82 p 3

[Article by Gen Div Jozef Baryla, chief of the Main Political Board of the Polish Armed Forces, vice minister of national defense and member of the Military Council for National Salvation: "The Time of Salvation, the Time of Rebirth"]

[Excerpt] The suspension of martial law, irrespective of when this will take place, will mark an important turning point in the difficult process of national salvation and the development of socialist Poland. The announcement of its suspension evokes mixed feelings and sometimes widely varying moods among the public. It can on the one hand evoke optimism and hope for further stabilization in socioeconomic affairs as well as the development of democracy and self-government. But it can on the other hand evoke pessimism and fear of a possible activation of enemy forces and asocial elements, plus a return to the tension and anarchy which we experienced before 13 December of last year.

We must approach this issue with much seriousness and sobriety and appraise the situation without any cheap euphoria or undue fears, as well as anticipate the effects of the decisions which have been undertaken.

It is obvious that martial law, despite its substantial and by no means small achievement, has not been able to overcome the crisis in the country. This is because the process of erosion, caused by the mistakes made during the past 10 years in economic and social policy, and especially by the activities of counterrevolutionary forces after 1980, is so deep-rooted that we would need many years to eliminate its effects in order for Poland to become a strong, well-governed and just state.

We are, moreover, aware that the germs of crisis have not been eliminated and continue to be the source of tension and the destabilization of the country's socioeconomic affairs. The propaganda and economic aggression which was launched against us by the Reagan administration is after all still going strong. The state of the economy is felt most keenly by working people and this in turn does little to favor the elimination of animosity, heated emotions and frustrations. The underground still has not laid down its arms, and although its supporters from the public are shrinking,



we can expect that it will not fail to exploit every opportune situation that arises to sow confusion and to delay the country's economic and social rebirth.

The present time continues to be a difficult and exceptional one for the country. This is why it is understandable that the authorities must be armed for a certain time with special powers which will allow them to guard class and national interests effectively and to stimulate the processes serving the consolidation of the socialist state and the well-being of its citizens, as well as to limit and eliminate phenomena which are harmful to the country's rebirth.

The overcoming of the crisis demands the mobilization of the nation's prosocialist and patriotic forces as well as the team effort of both the authorities and the public. What counts here are the attitudes, activities and the work of all communities, occupations and professions as well as that of the army. Society cannot afford to send the army into a political rest camp.

It is evident that the foremost and fundamental task of the armed forces, as always in the history of the Polish people's armed forces, is the defense of the country against the foreign enemy in a brotherly alliance with the Soviet Army and other Warsaw Pact armies. We are bound to these armies by the indissoluble bonds of friendship and a jointly forged skill in defense and combat. The international situation and the increased tension and threats from NATO demand the doubling of our efforts at exercise and testing grounds, the intensification of vigilance and the strengthening of the armed forces' moral and political fellowship as well as their combat readiness.

The consolidation of the home front, and above all the very structure of the socialist state as well as its constitutional political principles and its law and order, is necessary in the interest of the country's defense. The armed forces must therefore, due to their internal function, become a kind of force which will ensure law, order and security in the country as well as guarantee an effective shield for the efforts of working people who strive to overcome the crisis and follow the road to favorable development.

The Polish people's soldier, who is the fatherland's faithful son, and its defender and builder, stands at the command of the people, the socialist state and the fatherland, which is in need.

CSO: 2600/213

## PROBLEMS OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY, PARTY ROLE DISCUSSED

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 9, Sep 82 pp 116-132

/Article by Jan Wawrzyniak: "Dialectics of the Leading Role of the Party and of Socialist Democracy" under the rubric "Problems--Discussions"; passages enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface in source/

/Text/ The socio-political changes that commenced in Poland during the summer of 1980 have not yet reached the stage of full normalization. This is nothing surprising. Their nature, scope and depth are, in my opinion, without precedent in the history of People's Poland and transcend the previous experience. This accounts for the quite commonly perceived need to reassess many seemingly indisputable judgments, theses and opinions. Among these, a major place is occupied by the problem of the functioning of democracy in People's Poland.<sup>1</sup>

This is because apparently the need for a reassessment concerns chiefly, if not exclusively, the practical possibilities for translating into reality the general concept of socialist democracy under the particular conditions of People's Poland. As for that general concept itself, it will be briefly defined solely in order to point out its--in a sense--timeless and supranational values.

#### 1. Socialist Democracy and the Threats To It--the Technocratic-Bureaucratic and Anarchizing Tendencies

The concept of socialist democracy can be viewed in four planes: axiological, economic, socio-political and institutional-legal.<sup>2</sup>

In the /axiological/ plane, socialist democracy is related to the most progressive ideals of mankind such as the ideas of rule by the people, freedom, equality, social justice, and the broad development of society and the individual. Socialism interprets these values from the class-oriented standpoint, that is, from the standpoint of the interests of the working class and working people as a whole. Thus, the satisfaction of the needs of these social groups is the fundamental goal of the socialist state. According to the socialist concept of democracy, economic emancipation of the proletariat, that is, socialization of means of production, is a necessary though insufficient condition for translating the above values into reality. Therein also consists, most generally speaking, the /economic/ plane of the socialist concept of democracy. Here it is worth noting that the socialization of means of production cannot be reduced solely to their nationalization or expropriation by the state. This is necessary, of course, especially as regards the basic means of production, but

it neither exhausts the problem of democracy in the economic plane nor affects all the means of production in general. For in reality, in all the socialist countries, there co-exist three forms of the ownership of means of production: state, cooperative and private. In this connection, it is rather more pertinent to speak of the postulate of socialization from the standpoint of the ultimate goal as well as from the standpoint of the needs of the present.

The postulate of socialization from the standpoint of the ultimate goal is to be construed as increasing the authentic participation of the public in deciding on the directions of development of the economic infrastructure (here the process of eliminating private ownership of means of production would be one of the instruments serving to accomplish the above end rather than an end in itself). Independently of this, however, from the standpoint of the current needs of democracy in the economic plane, the aim should be to further the social /publicly owned/ nature of means of production within the framework of the currently existing structure of their ownership. This concerns, on the one hand, the process of the democratization of the methods of management and organization of state and cooperative property, i.e. enabling the public to have an increasingly authentic voice in decisionmaking with respect to the directions of development of the economic infrastructure, and on the other, influencing private owners of means of production in such a manner that their productive activities would be in the common interest.

In the /socio-political/ plane, the concept of socialist democracy proceeds from the premise of the elimination of class antagonisms. This is because the assumption is that in a society which is economically based on public ownership of the basic means of production the dominant--though not sole--relations are those based on cooperation and mutual assistance. The socialist political system has developed as a system for cooperation among the political forces accepting its fundamental principles, under the guidance of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party. The party as the guiding force of the process of building a new system of society should determine--on the basis of the system of values underlying the principles of socialist democratism and the laws of the development of society--the directions of further improvements in democracy, and it should care for the functioning of democracy in accordance with objective laws and social needs.

In the /institutional-legal/ plane, the characteristic attributes of socialist democracy are:

- a multi-level system of representative bodies, consisting not only of the parliament at the central level but also of local representative bodies;
- the supreme nature of representative bodies in the system of state agencies;
- the creation of both forms of indirect (representative) and direct (extra-representative) democracy and a developed system of democratic self-government (worker, peasant and resident self-governments);
- constitutional guarantees for a broad system of civil rights (political, personal, economic, social and cultural) and recognition of the unity of rights and obligations as the mandatory principle.

None of the planes mentioned above can be overlooked in reflections about the concept of socialist democracy. Only their combined treatment serves to define the proper, class-oriented nature of that concept and its interrelationships as well as dependence on the whole of the socio-economic situation. Such a treatment also serves to perceive a characteristic feature of democracy in general, including socialist democracy--namely, the twofold status of that idea, as it were. For democracy is both a means of achieving other ends and an end in itself, the goal of human strivings. Failure to perceive this twofold status of democracy generally results in adverse consequences, in the form of either its underestimation in the whole of socio-political life or its overestimation.<sup>3</sup>

The problem is that, while the general aims, ideas and institutions inherent in the socialist concept of democracy are accepted--at least by a majority of the public--at the same time, especially after the lessons of August 1980, emphasis is being placed on the discrepancy existing between the concept, doctrine and theoretical assumption of socialist democracy and its practical functioning, as well as on the effect of that discrepancy on the crises in the years 1956, 1970 and 1980.

It appears that the first step in eliminating this discrepancy must be an honest presentation of the problems of socialist democracy. But the presentation will be honest if a consistent approach is employed in distinguishing between theory and practice, between postulated state and actual state, and between normative and descriptive treatment. This is not, of course, a sufficient condition for an honest treatment of democracy, but it is a prerequisite for avoiding further misunderstandings. This seemingly simple requirement has not previously been often observed. And even when theoretical reflections had been made at a high level, descriptions of practice were either simply omitted or provided in such a way as to diverge greatly from reality. The positive exceptions that had occurred were so rare that they did not depreciate the rule and generally pertained to fairly specific matters.

It had simply been unseemly to write critically about socialist democracy, at least whenever fundamental matters were concerned. It appears that in our publicistic writings on politics, propaganda and, to a large extent, also in scientific publications on the subject of democracy we became, so to speak, prisoners of the thesis that, in a socialist system of society, democracy is so good that even if it still is not perfect it at any rate is steadily developing and becoming more perfect; that is essentially an automatic process. The genesis of this kind of attitude is to be discerned in the specific nature of the pre- and immediate post-revolutionary political struggle. At that time it had been possible to justify V. I. Lenin's famous utterance: /"Proletarian democracy is a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy".<sup>4</sup>/ At a later period apologetics of this kind essentially complicated and hampered the process of the further democratization of the socialist political system. In different countries the situation in this respect has of a certainty differed: Poland unfortunately cannot provide to this extent an example worthy of emulation.<sup>5</sup>

It should also be considered that the process of transformations within the system of socialist democracy does not occur in a clinically pure form and does not comprise its supporters alone. It takes place in a situation of an acute class

struggle and domestic political and ideological confrontation fomented by hostile forces of the capitalist world. These conditions have more than once hampered the developmental processes of our socialist democracy. They require a principled struggle against attempts to revive hostile and alien tendencies, as well as consistency in overcoming relics of the past and creating new forms and contents of socialist democracy.

From the standpoint of the problems considered here, the evolution observable in the views of S. Zawadzki is significant. In an article published in 1970 he offered the thesis of the development of socialist democracy as an objective necessity of the political development of socialism.<sup>6</sup> He used this thesis principally with the object of stressing that the necessity of the development of socialist democracy ensues not only from the system of values underlying the principles of Marxist theory but also from the objective needs of the development of the socialist society, that is, from economic, political, social, cultural and praxiological needs. However the recurrence of crises in Poland inclined S. Zawadzki to modify his position somewhat.<sup>7</sup> Now he believes that the Polish crises testify not only to successive mistakes of a subjective nature committed by successions of political leadership but also to the existence of an objective factor conditioning the successive political mistakes, namely, the bureaucratic-technocratic tendency. S. Zawadzki writes: /"It must thus be stated that in a socialist society, side by side with the democratic tendency (conditioned by the socialized ownership of means of production and the rise in the level of popular education), there exists a technocratic-bureaucratic tendency (conditioned by the need for the existence of a governing and managerial stratum, the growth of the social division of labor and the needs of specialization). Recognition of the objective existence of that tendency leads to a conclusion of fundamental significance. The development of socialist democracy is impossible without a concurrent surmounting of the bureaucratic-technocratic tendency and the ideology supporting that tendency, without the provision of legal-institutional guarantees easing the path for socialist democracy and at the same time barring the road to 'bureaucratic-technocratic distortions.'"/<sup>8</sup>

Although S. Zawadzki's statements make sense, it appears that they need to be complemented. In the light of our experience as a whole, it would be difficult to agree with the thesis that the process of the development of socialist democracy is menaced only by distortions of a bureaucratic-technocratic nature. It appears that, in addition to this menace, one other menace should be perceived, namely, the tendency toward an anarchization of socio-political life. This tendency is objectively conditioned by the tremendous class, occupational, professional, world-outlook and regional differentiation of the society building the socialist system. Hence, I believe that the development of socialist democracy is impossible not only without surmounting the bureaucratic-technocratic tendency but also without combatting the tendency toward the anarchization of socio-political life. The existence of these tendencies and the determination of the scope and extent of their occurrence require opposing the aforementioned apologetic approach to the teaching of democracy.

But what should the struggle against the two tendencies mentioned above consist in? Or rather, first of all, what should not it consist in? It appears that

this struggle should not consist in the striving to eliminate the objective causes of both tendencies although at first glance this elimination might seem to be the most correct conclusion. To perceive that this is not so, suffice it to observe that the objective causes of both tendencies, that is, for example, the existence of a stratum of officialdom, the division of labor, class differentiation, differentiation of world outlook and of occupations and professions, etc., are by no means to be considered unnatural aspects of the development of modern society but on the contrary are normal and natural, as it were, results of that development. Thus the problem is not to eliminate these objective causes (which would not be feasible anyway) but to shape such an organization of socio-political life as would--despite the various menaces--stimulate the development of socialist democracy. It is therein that--speaking in general--the struggle against both tendencies menacing the development of socialist democracy should consist. From this it ensues, in turn, that the direct causes of the manifestations of bureaucratic-technocratic and anarchizing tendencies are to be found in the organization of socio-political life, in the ideas, standards and institutions of that life.

## 2. The Leninist Model of the Leading Role of the Communist Party and Its Distortions

In the socialist system of society there exist many ideas, standards and institutions that play an essential role in the functioning of democracy and the manifestation of bureaucratic-technocratic and anarchizing tendencies. The decisive importance should be ascribed, however, to the principle of the leading role of the communist party in the processes of building the socialist system of society. This principle represents, so to speak, the structural axis of the entire socialist political system and it illustrates most expressively the specific nature of that polity as compared with all other polities. Thus, if secondary matters are disregarded and attention is focused on the fundamental problem, it should be stated that the development of socialist democracy originates from a correctly, Leninistically implemented principle of the leading role of the communist party and, by the same token, distortions in the development of democracy or, in other words, the formation of the bureaucratic-technocratic and anarchizing tendencies, originate from an improperly implemented principle of the leading role of the communist party or from the actual absence of that principle in socio-political life.

Let me define somewhat more precisely the significance of the formulation, "improperly implemented principle of the leading role of the party." Generally speaking, two "improper" models of the party's role can be distinguished.<sup>9</sup>

Under the first, "administrative" model the party's role reduces to leading everything, and in an arbitrary manner at that. /"In the concept of the leading role of the party, both aspects are interpreted rather uniquely: the concept of the party and the concept of leading. The party is identified with its leadership (more accurately, with its 'tight' leadership) and with the executive--staff and appointed--apparatus subordinated to that leadership (rather than to the legislative organs). 'Leading' on the other hand is interpreted in categories of unrestrained power and infallibility of leadership. This model

unilaterally absolutizes the party's role as a ruling force at the expense of its role as a social movement and the spokesman for the public before the authorities.... When so construed, the party is the leading force 'ex officio,' which by definition means regardless of public will; the party is a force standing above the state and the law, above society, above the working class, which gives orders to all, instructs all, etc."/10

The second model, which may be termed pragmatic or managerial presupposes the application of methods other than those applied in the "administrative" model, but the effect and purpose of their application are essentially the same: freedom to do what I like. Under this model, official orders are supplanted with competent and efficient management that leans to a smaller degree on fiat and duress but on the other hand relies more on dexterous and publicly accepted manipulation. In this model we thus have, on the one hand, a decorative democracy "for show" (e.g. the blossoming of selectively guided criticism) and, on the other, insofar as possible, insistence on "having one's own way," on "mastery of the situation" and of public moods. Under this model the party, vis a vis the popular masses and its rank-and-file membership, is to transform itself into a debating club and a forum for recording complaints, postulates and proposals that are not later read by anyone. To the so-called apparatus this means both "an electoral committee and the possibility of acting as one sees fit without feeling restrained by that outward show."<sup>11</sup> When exercised according to the assumptions of the models outlined above, the leading role of the communist party is a fundamental source of the deformation of socialist democracy and the strengthening of the technocratic-bureaucratic tendency. This had been more than once demonstrated to us during the "pre-August [1980]" period.

The formation of the anarchizing tendency is favored by the actual deprivation of the communist party's leading role in the socialist state. It can be stated without hazarding a major mistake that in Poland we had probably been dealing with a process of progressive weakening of the party's leading role during the period between August 1980 and December 1981. That process was accompanied by a growing tendency toward anarchization of socio-political life and hence also deformation of socialist democracy. It is characteristic in this connection that the slogan, as it were, engendering these processes had been the struggle for the development of pluralism as a supposedly all-wise desirable and previously uncultivated political value. Without going further into this topic at present, it must be clearly emphasized that the situation with which we had until recently been dealing in Poland is an excellent illustration of the validity of the thesis, formulated by Marx and Engels in their dispute with Bakunin, of the need to distinguish between organized pluralism and anarchist pluralism as well as of the need to develop the former as a guarantee of democratism and of the social harmfulness of the latter.<sup>12</sup> Thus, Poland is a socialist state that has experienced both the one and the other distortions in the process of the democratization of its socio-political life. Hence also, the models presented are not some "fancied" models but represent, so to speak, a generalization of our practical experience. The anarchizing tendency due to the actual non-existence of the party's leading role also is no longer merely a theoretical possibility to us.

Thus, of fundamental importance to the further development of the socialist system in our country is the answer to the question of how should the party exercise

its leading role in order to serve the development and strengthening of socialist democracy? Of decisive significance are inspirations stemming from the Leninist model of leadership.<sup>13</sup>

This is a model of a party in which the arbiter of the decisions on its goals and directions and forms of action is its rank-and-file membership along with collegial and policy-making bodies which draft the program and directives of action. In this model the so-called executive apparatus is merely the executor of the will of the policy-making bodies. Under this model, the party must attempt to attract and win over to its program the broadest possible masses of working people. This aim should be accomplished through partner-like dialogue with units of the political system, by means of the influence exerted by party members active in public organizations on the decisions of these organizations through the mediation of the statutory rules of action in these organizations. Such a style of action requires a permanent dialogue, mediation, concern for authentic authority. It may not violate the autonomy of the organization which the party influences by virtue of its leading role. When properly exercised, the party's leading role vis a vis units of the political system does not violate their self-government, autonomy and competences. That role cannot thus be exercised on the basis of assigning directives for fulfillment by a given organizational unit. The only way in which the party can influence the nature of the decisions of a given organizational unit is through the mediation of party members active within that unit or, if no party members exist within that unit, through the mediation of a partner unit. Only such a method of action serves to exclude the administrative and managerial models of exercising the leading role and, in the long run, assures an improved quality of decisions and the proper political and moral climate for their implementation. Only when so exercised can the party's leading role win increasing public recognition and contribute to an increasingly fuller implementation of socialist democracy. The party may not exercise its leading role on the assumption of some omnipotence of the party as the sole credible causative power in all undertakings; in other words, this concerns the authenticity of all the institutional elements of the political system, the implementation by all these elements of their real, legally prescribed role in the decisionmaking process, freeing them of the odium of being figureheads.

Thus, speaking most generally, the party's leading role must be expressed not only in the progressive /nature/ of the decisions taken but also in the democratic /method/ employed by the party in its activities. It should also be borne in mind that, in order to be effective, both the nature and method of the party's activities should be adapted to the socio-political and economic conditions existing in a given country at a given time. This does not mean, of course, that it is the party's task merely to adapt itself passively to the existing situation. Had it been so, the communist party could not have fulfilled its role as the vanguard, the leading force, the factor shaping socio-political and economic life on the basis of the principles of a new system of society. Thus, when we speak of the need for the party to act in a manner adequate to the existing conditions, we simply mean the necessity, for the party, of viewing the general laws of building the socialist system of society through the prism of the situation and conditions of a given country. The pace and scope of transformations of a socialist nature should correspond to these laws: this is a condition for realism in action. At the same time, the party is the sole force



responsible for assuring that a country entering upon the path of building the socialist system of society would not in practice fail to achieve that goal by disregarding the general principles of socialism.

When we consider the Leninist model of exercising the leading role by the communist party, we should bear in mind yet another and often overlooked aspect of this problem, which appears immeasurably important. To wit, we should remember that the communist party, which exercises the leading role, is not just a communist party but also the ruling party, with all the positive and negative consequences ensuing therefrom. This should be borne in mind in discussions on the manner in which the PZPR exercises its leading role, and in analyses of its pre-August malaises and weaknesses.<sup>14</sup>

Leadership by the PZPR is a principle of our polity, because it is the condition for the continuity of building socialism, and not because it itself is unconditional. On the contrary, it is conditional, because it hinges on the will and support of the working people. This law must be reflected in political practice. The party as a whole and its aktiv are obligated to continuously evaluate policy during its implementation rather than "after the fact" when it is time to settle accounts on a grand scale. The party must be controlled from within and from without. It can be the leading force, not just formally by virtue of a Constitutional provision, but actually, by the will of society, only in the presence of mechanisms actually serving to confirm, renew and prolong the mandate of trust by the working people.

This aim cannot be accomplished by means of intra-party democracy alone, although the proper functioning of that democracy is a prerequisite for the development of socialist democracy in general. However, intra-party democracy in principle regulates the operating style of the party itself. But this concerns something more--the democratic functioning of the entire socialist polity. Hence, I believe that, in order to avoid the traps and dangers awaiting the communist party as the ruling party, and to render impossible any broader development of technocratic-bureaucratic and anarchizing tendencies, in our political system there is an absolute need for the existence of rules corresponding to the differentiation of society and serving to surmount these differences and reach a consensus of interests in a manner such as to assure the domination of the basic goals of socialist development and fundamental interests of the working class.

### 3. The Introduction of the Leninist Model of the Party

A negative attitude toward the pluralism promoted by bourgeois ideologists should not signify total disapproval of all of its forms. The problem does not consist in the possibility of popular choice of the ruling team from among various political parties legally active in a given country; in a socialist system of society, rivalry and struggle between opposed programs do not count as a constitutional solution. This rather concerns such a system of the organization of political life as would, on the one hand, enable diverse social groups to express properly their authentic interests and, on the other, assure the consideration of these interests in decisionmaking by the authorities.<sup>15</sup> It appears that a thus interpreted pluralism--cooperation of partners among which the party plays the leading role--is a necessary element of our democracy. Opposed to it, on the other hand, is the pluralism identified with the mechanism of "a free interplay of political forces" existing in the capitalist society.

Under that mechanism, top priority is always given to the interests of the owners of means of production. Rule in the capitalist state always belongs to the bourgeoisie, regardless of who exercises that rule. The political pluralism operating in the capitalist countries essentially is a form of political organization of society adopted under the pressure of the working masses but adapted to the needs of the bourgeoisie.<sup>16</sup>

In a socialist state the situation is different: the class of owners of means of production gradually disappears and these means increasingly come under public ownership. This affects fundamentally the sociological characteristics of the socialist society. In all socialist countries--though at a differing pace and to a differing extent--the interests of working people of town and country become closer. The class structure of the socialist society is oriented toward the gradual disappearance of antagonistic classes, although remnants of their influence on public consciousness demonstrate considerable vitality, particularly when fomented from outside.

The socialist society during the transition period does not become monolithic, however, but remains highly differentiated and pluralist. It displays a mosaic of varied interests reflecting the class-stratum, professional, occupational, and world-outlook differentiation and evolution of social groups characterized by different living standards, education, etc. Disregard of this diversity in politics would be hiding one's head in the sand. The point is that the state's overall policy should allow for that mosaic of interests and, on this basis, build the unity of society. It is impermissible, on the other hand--as had been the case in the past--to camouflage the diversity of these interests at the expense of the slogan of moral-political unity. So long as varied interests exist in a society, its unity must be an outgrowth of their hierarchical subordination and meshing. This is neither an easy nor a smooth process. For the whole of the diverse interests includes also interests that are more or less mutually contradictory. An inevitable consequence of such a situation is the rise of social conflicts.

The problem of conflicts in the socialist society was and is the subject of many misunderstandings and omissions. This is certainly related to the special role played by class conflicts in history. They represent the fundamental and most acute--though not the sole--type of social conflicts in class societies or in societies based on the exploitation of the working classes. These conflicts exert, moreover, a great influence on the shape and course of other social conflicts such as national, religious and other conflicts. It is precisely the great merit of Marxism that it has brought to light the role and significance of class conflicts in class societies.

On the other hand, some popularity in Marxism has been gained by the view--which meets with justification in the works of neither Marx nor Engels nor Lenin, nor in the reality of socialist societies--that the abolition of antagonistic social classes results also in the disappearance of all social conflicts. This is not a justified view, if only considering that the thesis that conflicts among classes are the basis of social conflicts under capitalism does not at all imply that the elimination of antagonistic social classes will result in the

disappearance of all social conflicts as well. For the existence of mutually antagonistic classes is not the sole source of social conflicts.

Thus, in socialist societies, too, due attention should be paid to social conflicts that may ensue either from unsolved problems inherited from capitalism or from structural features inherent in the new socio-economic system. A characteristic trait of the social conflicts growing on the soil of the socialist system of society is their non-antagonistic nature. This means that the socialist system of society provides objective premises for the solution of these conflicts through compromise and agreement. Essentially, this is not possible so far as conflicts "inherited" from the capitalist system or conflicts of a counter-revolutionary nature are concerned.

If the substratum of a conflict is interests of a socialist nature, they can and should be reconciled through compromise and agreement. To make this possible, the authorities should be familiar with these varied interests and allow for them in the decisions they make. The most authentic and credible information on the interests of discrete social groups can be provided by the organizations representing these groups.<sup>17</sup> Hence, on the one hand, society should be organized in such organizations, which express its particular interests and, on the other, it should be ruled by authorities which govern in the interest of the entire society owing to their familiarity with and consideration of these particular interests and the hierarchic subordination and meshing of these interests. Such a situation is achievable precisely through the functioning of pluralism. In other words, what matters is that the model, operating until recently, of the exercise of power on the basis of, chiefly, coordination of activities between /the party apparatus and the state administration/, should be supplanted with a system of agreements and negotiations between /the authorities and the public/. In this connection, the public, society, cannot be present in the form of the anonymous totality of 36 million citizens of the PRL but must be represented by pluralist public structures such as: trade unions, youth organizations, cooperative associations, workers' self-government, autonomous creative unions, etc. We term these structures pluralist, because their paramount though not sole task is to be viewed as effectively representing the varied interests of discrete social groups. Here it is worth noting that effective representation is possible when the decisionmaking centers are informed of the existing interests and attempts are made to satisfy these interests. This task cannot be effectively accomplished by the organizations which merely represent or spread the voice of the authorities in society--organizations which, together with the structures of state rule, represent a monolithic system speaking with one voice. Such organizations in practice prevent genuine dialogue between the authorities and the public. Thus, the existence of the aforementioned pluralist social structures in Poland is an indispensable condition for the existence of the partnership model of the exercise of rule.

All this cannot of course mean the existence of complete organizational freedom for all the undercurrents and tendencies present in Polish society. After all, we are speaking of socialist pluralism, and hence the common denominator of the diverse social structures must be the interest of People's Poland as a socialist state and part of the world community of socialist countries, as a

state linked by a permanent alliance to the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty members. This means that there can be no freedom of organization for forces desirous of nullifying the systemic principles of Poland as a country of the working class and working people, as a socialist state--forces which desire to oppose Poland to its socialist allies. There can be no room for such spokesmen of anti-communism and anti-Sovietism.

The existence of diverse social structures reflecting varied public interests and the possibility of the rise of social conflicts and the necessity of solving them--they all require, in their turn, such a structure of governing as would assure the hierarchic subordination and appropriate prioritization or reconciliation of interests articulated within the framework of these structures. Otherwise, the proper functioning of the state and society as a whole is impossible. The state cannot function correctly in the absence of mechanisms bringing order into the collection of information on the actual interests of society and dividing these interests into long-range and current, national and parochial. That ordering structure, that is, the authorities, must operate both as a center for the creation of a system of values, an ideology and an overall program of political action, and as a center capable of assuring and monitoring the implementation of that program. We are thus speaking of power as a complex, multi-organizational and coalitional structure. Of course, if they are to be effective, the process of the formulation of ideological assessments and political programs by the party and their implementation by the state must also be based on information and postulates received from different sources, from the different social structures which we have mentioned and which should find it possible to influence the authorities and correct their actions. In no case, however, should this result in replacing the authorities or hindering their actions if the latter are in accord with the existing Constitutional order and legal provisions.

The party's leading role is necessary to these social structures so that the interests they reflect may be hierarchically subordinated and meshed. But they also, in their turn, are necessary to the party so that it may exercise its leading role in a democratic and hence effective manner. This is assisted by the articulation of the authentic interests of diverse social groups and the consideration of these interests in decisionmaking by the authorities.

Traditionally, when we speak of democracy in a socialist country, we refer to such components of democracy as rule by the people, legality, self-government, social equality, and civil rights. It appears, though, that this list should be complemented precisely with pluralism as defined above and different from bourgeois pluralism--with pluralism as a method of expressing the interests of diverse social groups and assuring the solution of social conflicts through agreement and compromise. For the example of Poland demonstrates that, unless these problems are allowed for in the practical functioning of the state, democracy is incomplete and crippled, which results in deformations of political life.

#### 4. Organization of Economic Life and the Functioning of Socialist Democracy

Ever since the outbreak of the 1980 crisis the question has often been asked in Poland: what are the guarantees that the practice of political life in our country will fully correspond to, or at least be close to, the model of socialist democracy presented above? There do not exist, in my opinion, any absolute guarantees that distortions of the aforementioned values, known in the history of People's Poland, would not recur. But this does not mean the impossibility of organizing the whole of socio-political life so as to minimize the menace and strengthen tendencies favorable to an undisturbed development of the socialist system of society. Respect for the requirements of socialist pluralism in the functioning of democracy in our country precisely serves this goal. It should be borne in mind, however, that the problem of democracy or, more broadly--the entire political sphere of our public life, cannot be considered in isolation from the principles that govern economic life. The absence of a comprehensive approach to the spheres of politics and economics, the failure to perceive the need to correlate the ruling principles of these spheres, had in the past resulted in causing even the most justified postulates to remain mere pious wishes. It is to be thought that the postulates concerning socialist democracy as formulated above also will remain such pious wishes unless the system of managing the economy is consistently reformed and modernized.

For it should be borne in mind that the strengthening and development of the socialist economy makes increasingly functional the release of automatic economic regulators and hence also the restrictions on direct political intervention in the field of the economy. What concerns us primarily is not that some autonomization of the sphere of economics is advantageous to the functioning of the economy itself. From the standpoint of the problems considered here, this chiefly concerns emphasizing the positive consequences of such autonomizing to the functioning of the entire superstructure and especially of the political system.

To realize the significance of economic self-regulators to the political life of a socialist state, suffice it to consider such still unsatisfactorily solved problems as the separation of the functions of the party and the machinery of state, the influence of conflicts in the political sphere on the functioning of the economy, etc. Making the economy completely dependent on politics, i.e. the functioning of the economy on the basis of orders and prohibitions ensuing from the sphere of politics, is not only dysfunctional so far as the development needs of the modern economy are concerned but also makes impossible in practice the proper--i.e. based on the axiological assumptions of the socialist system of society--functioning of the political sphere.

This is so because such an intricate mechanism as the modern economy cannot be effectively directed by means of orders and prohibitions that moreover mostly emanate from the political center. This, in its turn, accounts for public discontent and criticism of political decisionmakers. These decisionmakers, therefore, strive to activate mechanisms for suppressing criticism (in general, not just criticism of economic aspects but any criticism of the authorities). This is how the elementary mechanisms of democracy had been blocked.

The situation is completely different when the dependence of economics on politics—despite the existence of a dialectical relationship between them—is limited to certain fundamental problems, when specific economic self-regulators are in operation. Then all discussions, disputes and conflicts taking place in the political sphere are not directly and automatically, as it were, transferred to the economic sphere. By the same token also it is more difficult to sway the economic foundations of the state even by means of the most heated ideological or political discussions. This provides the political authorities with a feeling of some security and thereby also contributes to the development of democratic forms of social life.<sup>18</sup> That is why such great hopes for not only an improvement in the economic situation but also the democratization of our political life are to be linked to the introduction of the economic reform.

##### 5. "The Human Element" and the Functioning of Socialist Democracy

Our reflections so far pertained to various kinds of ideas, principles, institutions and mechanisms of action that should foster the development of socialist democracy. Essentially, all the problems considered here are closely inter-related and, in general, mutually condition their existence. We have discussed not all of the problems relating to socialist democracy in Poland but only the basic elements which, in my opinion, condition the rebirth of democracy in our country and its further largely unperturbed development. It was thus pointed out that, side by side with objective foundations for the development of democracy, in the socialist system there also exist objective premises for the rise of the technocratic-bureaucratic tendency as well as of a tendency toward the anarchization of socio-political life. It was pointed out that a decisive role in the emergence of any one of these three possibilities of development is played by the existence and interpretation of the leading role of the communist party in the state and society. The development of socialist democracy is fostered only by the Leninist model of the exercise of leading role by the communist party. A necessary condition for the existence of such a model of party leadership is the implementation, in the practice of political life, of rules which I denoted as socialist pluralism. In the long run, the democratization of socialist political life is impossible, or greatly hampered, unless there is a far-reaching autonomy of the economic sphere and the political sphere along with basing the functioning of each of these spheres on its own intrinsic principles.

This is how the basic conditions for the development of socialist democracy in Poland, the "loadbearing" walls of this democratic structure, can be characterized. Of course, in addition to "loadbearing walls," this structure should include "partitions" in the form of a large number of institutions without which the normal functioning of socialist democracy is hardly conceivable. This refers to, e.g. the parliament, self-governments, monitoring agencies, legality, etc. If I have not mentioned them before, that was only because they are, in one way or another, part of the problems discussed above. On the other hand, there is one other problem that requires separate discussion: the human element, that is, the convictions and attitudes of individuals who really function in public life and their role in the democratization of the socialist political system. This is not a trivial problem, even from the standpoint of the metaphor presented above,



considering that (for various reasons) no willing tenants might be found even for the best-designed building, and then the usefulness of that building would be zero. On the other hand, even the loveliest building could be reduced to a ruin by deprived tenants.

Thus, it must be borne in mind that it is man who imbues with a definite content the forms of socialist democracy.<sup>19</sup> A society, a state, dominated by democratically disposed individuals would function differently from one in which interpersonal relations are based on mutual distrust, fear, etc. This also accounts for the often deep differences between the political systems of countries with extremely similar forms of government and legal structure. This does not mean at all that the shape of formal-institutional elements is of secondary importance. Perhaps it, too, should stimulate the development of democratic attitudes. It is thus incorrect to absolutize either only objective or only subjective principles of the development of socialist democracy. Hence also the two popular but diametrically opposed attitudes described below are incorrect:

--The state and prospects for the strengthening of democracy in public life depend solely on the quality of the institutions and normatively regulated decision-making mechanisms. The views, inclinations, habits and convictions of individuals are of no great importance in this plane. What is more, a well-designed system of democracy should function efficiently regardless of the direction of action of subjective factors. In this system there should operate mechanisms that protect it completely against the possible influence of autocratic and bureaucratic tendencies, incompetence, illwill and the egotism of individuals and groups, and that at the same time enforce behavior corresponding to democratic ideals. The contribution of institutions and norms concerning democracy is seen from this standpoint as completely autonomous vis a vis the state of the political culture and level of democratic consciousness of the entire nation and its ruling circles.

--The opposed view consists in placing emphasis solely on subjective factors. Its principal thesis is the claim: "Everything depends on the individual." Incompetence or illwill lead to the degeneration of any democratic institution, while the institutionalization of democracy is not needed, because society attains a high level of public morality and becomes attached to the ideals of democracy. Hence, it is not so much improvements in organizational structures and decisionmaking procedures as the shaping of attitudes and convictions in the desired direction that should be the main task in the process of developing democracy.

Both views are one-sided. The flaw in the former is the utopian faith in the omnipotence of the machinery of law. This is a pessimistic and minimalistic attitude. Its hidden premise is the conviction that man's nature is inherently evil, that his character and attitudes cannot be changed but must be guarded against through the creation of rigid, formalized structures and decisionmaking mechanisms.

The other view is characterized by institutional nihilism as well as by an equally unjustified belief in the unlimited possibility of deliberately shaping the desired attitudes and convictions of citizens by democratically oriented social forces.

In this connection, attention should be drawn to yet another problem. Namely, some popularity is enjoyed by the assertion that it is inexpedient to transfer to the hands of the public the right to decide on the course of public affairs in a situation when the level of the public's political knowledge and its ability to avail itself of the existing institutions and mechanisms of democracy are low while at the same time its proclivities for politically irrational and anarchist actions still persist. The correct slogan, "democracy has to be learned," is interpreted as meaning: the learning comes first, democracy later.

This view is doubly faulty—from the theoretical and the political standpoints. Its theoretical invalidity consists in the contradiction it offers to the pedagogically corroborated truth that the acquisition and consolidation of practical skills is possible only when they are utilized.

The political flaw in the above view is that it serves as a support for autocratic actions. Under the appearance of concern for the validity of decisions on their own merit, those directly concerned in the adoption of decisions are removed from participation in decisionmaking on the ground that supposedly they are not yet mature enough to consciously make their own decisions. Sometimes, this view is additionally buttressed by the assertion that the so-called abandonment to chaos, i.e. placement of decisionmaking possibility in the hands of citizens entails too great a risk of making mistakes. Although the risk of mistakes in the event of actions undertaken in accordance with democratic procedure undoubtedly exists, this danger is not eliminated by resorting to technocratic or autocratic methods of decisionmaking. What is more, then the possibility of a mistake is greater. This ensues from the confluence of two situations negatively viewed by the public: the adoption of wrong decisions and the undemocratic procedure for that adoption.

Hence, the shaping of attitudes and skills for availing oneself of democratic institutions and mechanisms is effective and lasting only when it occurs in the process of the realization of the rights of citizens to decide on the course of public affairs.

Democracy is not an abstraction, and its development always is contingent on the class situation and political and social conditions in a given country. The decisive factor is the social soil on which evolves lasting amenability and readiness to implement and adhere to the principles of socialist democracy.

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The fundamental problems of the functioning of socialist democracy in Poland have been outlined above—very roughly at that. Of course, these reflections are in the nature of a discussion and, moreover, they require further concretization, a more detailed examination of the discrete planes and aspects of socialist democracy in Poland.

These questions have been the topic of long-lasting discussions that do not lack polemical and controversial elements. Many of the opinions and views presented are diametrically opposed to each other. The search continues for the proper model of socialist democracy and the ways of translating it into reality. My comments represent an additional voice in this discussion.



# FOOTNOTES

1. In addition to the broad discussion of democracy among scientists and publicists, this is also demonstrated by, e.g. W. Jaruzelski's address in the Parliament on 25 January 1982 (TRYBUNA LUDU, 26 January 1982) and the article by E. Kowalczyk, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party, "What Formula for Democracy" (KURIER POLSKI, 21 January 1982).
2. Cf. S. Zawadzki, "Z teorii i praktyki demokracji socjalistycznej" [From the Theory and Practice of Socialist Democracy], Warsaw, 1980, pp 12-17.
3. Cf. A. Lopatka, "The Shape of Socialist Democracy in Poland," IDEOLOGIA I POLITYKA, No 11, 1980.
4. V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky" [In Polish translation], Works, Vol 28, p 249.
5. For positive experiences in the field of the functioning of socialist democracy see e.g. J. R. Nowak, "Węgry--reforma gospodarcza i demokracja socjalistyczna" [Hungary--the Economic Reform and Socialist Democracy], Publishing House of the Institute of Basic Problems of Marxism-Leninism, PZPR Central Committee, Warsaw, 1981, pp 164-236.
6. S. Zawadzki, "The Development of Socialist Democracy as an Objective Necessity," PANSTWO I PRAWO, No 3-4, 1971.
7. Cf. S. Zawadzki, "Democracy--Deeper and Better," POLITYKA, No 49(1,292), 1981.
8. Ibid.
9. Cf. R. Bryla, M. Karwat and W. Malinowski, "Byc Partia" [On Being the Party], Warsaw, 1981, pp 74-77.
10. Ibid., p 74.
11. Ibid., p 75.
12. Cf. S. Ehrlich, "Oblicza pluralizmow" [Faces of Pluralisms], Warsaw, 1980, p 226.
13. Cf. on this topic, inter alia, M. Waldenberg, "Rewolucja i panstwo w mysli politycznej W. Lenina" [Revolution and the State in the Political Thought of V. Lenin], Warsaw, 1976, pp 347-362; A. Lopatka, "Kierownicza rola partii komunistycznej w stosunku do panstwa socjalistycznego" [The Leading Role of the Communist Party in Relation to the Socialist State], Poznan, 1963; A. Dobieszewski, "Zarys leninowskiej nauki o partii" [An Outline of Lenin's Teachings About the Party], Warsaw, 1978.
14. Attention to this aspect of the matter is drawn by Bryla et al., op. cit., pp 57-54.

15. Cf. J. J. Wiatr, "Przyczynek do zagadnienia rozwoju społecznego w formacji socjalistycznej" [A Contribution to the Problem of Social Development in the Socialist System of Society], Warsaw, 1979, pp 229-230.
16. S. Zawadzki, "Z teorii i praktyki...", op. cit., p 15.
17. For more on the subject of the interrelationships among various levels of organization of the social structure cf. J. Szmatka, "Jednostka i społeczeństwo. O zależności zjawisk indywidualnych od społecznych" [The Individual and Society. The Dependence of Individual on Social Phenomena], Warsaw, 1980, pp 133-151.
18. For more on the subject, cf. J. J. Wiatr, op. cit., pp 80-123.
19. For more on the subject, cf. J. Kowalski, B. Radzikowska and P. Winczorek, "Problemy rozwoju demokracji socjalistycznej w PRL" [Problems of the Development of Socialist Democracy in the PRL], Warsaw, 1981, pp 345-378.

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CSO: 2600/161

CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMISSION PREPARES FOR 12TH PLENUM

AU181107 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Report signed 'X': "PZPR Central Committee Ideological Commission in Session--the Shaping of Society's Socialist Awareness"]

[Text] On 13 December there was a meeting of the PZPR Central Committee Ideological Commission. Heads of voivodship committee ideological commissions took part in the session as well as representatives from the party's central propaganda aktiv.

Marian Orzechowski, PZPR Central Committee secretary, chaired the meeting.

Andrzej Czyz, deputy head of the PZPR Central Committee Ideological Department, presented a report outlining the main problems of party work in relation to the preparations for the 12th PZPR Central Committee plenum, which will deal with ideological problems. The report stressed that during the preparations for this plenum it would be necessary to expand on the ideological and theoretical appraisal of the crucial problems of socialist construction and in this context refer to the party's current tasks, which deal with the implementation of the line of agreement and struggle, the line of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress. It would, in the light of our experiences to date, be fitting to state how the party should play its leading role in society and its managing role in the state.

Those who took part in the heated discussion on the thesis presented in the report were: Norbert Michta, Tadeusz Walichnowski, Jan Matejuk, Artur Bodnar, Andrzej Swiderski, Julian Kraus, Zdzislaw Tokarski, Eugeniusz Laciak, Karol Sekowski, Czeslaw Stepien, Aleksander Jankowski, Tadeusz Lach, Eugeniusz Cichon, Piotr Czaja and Walery Namiotkiewicz.

During the discussion emphasis was placed on the fact that in preparing for the 12th PZPR plenum it is necessary to sum up the experience the party gained while overcoming the current crisis, taking advantage of all the party organizations' and cells' joint achievements during the pregress discussion and the Ninth PZPR Congress. It is also necessary to refer ourselves to the proposals made by the first All-Poland Ideological and Theoretical Party Conference and the plenary sessions of voivodship committees. Preparations for the 12th PZPR plenum should include a wide circle of aktivs and party members.

The participants in the discussion indicated the absolute necessity of such an approach to the problems of this plenum in order for the experiences of the party organizations and cells to be taken into optimal consideration, and at the same time to answer the needs arising from their activities in individual socioprofessional communities, especially in that of the heavy-industry-based workers' class.

Attention was focused on the need to work out a complex program for shaping society's social awareness which would encompass not only party tasks, but also the duties of state institutions and the cells of the entire educational front.

Marian Orzechowski summed up the discussions by stressing that the preparations for the 12th PZPR Central Committee plenum should be an important incentive to the development of ideological assertiveness within the party. Its axis must become a reply to the question of how the party should play its role of political representative of the worker class and guarantor of the defense of worker interests, how it will play the leading role in the affairs of society and upon what its governing role in a socialist state should depend.

CSO: 2600/215

SEJM DEPUTY PRESENTS STATE SECRETS BILL

AU171252 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 15 Dec 82 p 3

[Report on speech by Sejm Deputy Jerzy Zygmanski at the 14 December Sejm session in Warsaw: "The Protection of State and Official Secrets"]

[Text] Deputy Jerzy Zygmanski (PZPR, Szczecin Constituency) has presented the bill on the protection of state and official secrets in the name of the Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice and of the Commission for Legislative Work.

The deputy said that besides having general social characteristics aimed at the more effective protection of information that constitutes a state and official secret, the bill that is being presented before the high chamber serves to strengthen law and order by laying a special emphasis on the constitutional duty to increase state security concerning this information. The putting in order of material connected with the protection of state and official secrets is the first ever undertaking of this kind in our country, for in the legislation which has been in force up to now, there is a lack of comprehensive control over these matters, and some aspects of them are dealt with by acts of lesser importance which are inaccessible to and unknown to most people. Thus, the bill meets halfway the expectations of society, which have been displayed by various social circles, and it also intends to establish state requirements connected with this issue. It also fulfills the need to supply a legal definition for what constitutes a state secret and what constitutes an official one.

The general ideas behind state secrets which have prevailed up to now are covered by Article 2 of the bill. Here, the kind of information which constitutes a state secret is described. This article states that a state secret consists of information the revelation of which could harm the state's defense capability, security or some other important matter. It primarily consists of information on military matters, for it is known that with the current balance of forces in the world and in the current political situation, information concerning our defense agreements is a subject of interest to foreign special services. Therefore, information about our state of defense, mainly concerning the types and numbers of arms we have and the equipment, mobilization and operational plans of our armed forces, constitutes a state secret.

The deputy next discussed the specific kinds of information which are meant to be considered state secrets, especially information about the organization of the peacekeeping forces, about scientific and research work and economic information, the revelation of all of which could seriously harm state interests.

As far as official secrets are concerned, the bill lays down that this category will embrace the kind of information whose revelation could harm social interests, the justifiable interests of an organizational unit and also the justifiable interest of citizens.

The bill lays down that bodies of state administration at national and voivodship level are to establish rules which will be a continuation of the definition of what is a state secret. According to the bill, the heads of organizational units will have the right to establish what constitutes an official secret.

The bill stresses that keeping a state secret is the duty of every citizen, and keeping an official secret is the duty of every employee, regardless of the position he occupies. A secret must be kept both during a person's employment and after his employment has ceased.

The bill also controls matters concerning access to organizational units where state secrets exist, and gives the minister of foreign affairs the task of generally coordinating the way in which state and official secrets are to be kept. In the armed forces, this coordinating function has been assigned to the minister of national defense.

Finally, the deputy stressed that the undertaking of legislative work aimed at controlling the protection of state and official secrets deserves to be recognized as an important step toward strengthening people's law and order.

In the name of the Commission for Internal Affairs and the Administration of Justice and of the Commission for Legislative Work, the deputy asked that the bill on the protection of state and official secrets in the version presented in paper 215 and with the amendments contained in paper 252 be adopted.

CSO: 2600/214

MOKRZYSZCZAK INTERVIEWED ON REPORT-BACK CAMPAIGN

AU131415 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Dec 82 p 3

[Interview with Wlodzimierz Mokrzyaszczak, Politburo candidate member and Central Committee secretary, by Anna Pawlowska: "A First Review"--date and place not given]

[Text] [Question] The report-back and programmatic campaign in the party started in October and has therefore been going on for 2 months. Can one draw initial conclusions from it, or is it still too early to do so since up to now only conferences of primary party organizations [POP] have taken place?

[Answer] Factory, rural commune and municipal conferences are also at quite an advanced stage. But it is a fact that the campaign has covered 94 percent of departmental and primary organizations up to the end of November. So one stage in the campaign has been completed. Does it enable one to draw conclusions? Certainly yes. For it is these primary organizations, equipped as they are with full statutory powers, which determine the quality and strength of influence of the entire party. A return to the primary party organizations, extremely important in the life of the party, is a fundamental element of the achievements of the Ninth Congress.

[Question] Do you think that this knowledge is universal in the party today?

[Answer] I do not know. However, proof that it nevertheless dominates is the way in which the report-back campaign is proceeding. If we consider that the average turnout at conferences has been 75 to 80 percent, and it has been even lower in some voivodships, then this shows that comrades are aware of the significance of their own organizations for the entire party and for the community. Even acutely embarrassing cases of conferences having to be postponed were not always the result of a low turnout. It sometimes happened that the primary party organizations themselves, having determined that a conference had been badly prepared by the executive board, decided to convene a new one.

[Question] While we are talking about "embarrassing" matters, there have been conferences where even a good turnout has not prevented discussion from being weak and has not prevented silence.

[Answer] There have indeed. And this is a disturbing element in the campaign's record up to now. No less disturbing is the fact that the greatest number of such silent conferences took place at the very beginning. Not one such conference was recorded in almost half the voivodships, and in only seven voivodships have such conferences occurred frequently. The appropriate party cells should make a separate detailed analysis of every such case, find out the reasons for such silence and help the organizations involved.

[Question] It was envisaged before the campaign started that the campaign would proceed without any major setbacks in large industrial communities, but fears were expressed concerning rural areas. Have these forecasts turned out to be true?

[Answer] Yes and no. Of course, conferences have proceeded very well in large factories. But the fears about rural primary party organizations have turned out to be a "leftover from the past"—for years it has been most difficult to lead any party campaign whatsoever in rural areas. This time, however, despite the work in the fields during the fall, rural conferences have neither been delayed, nor have they had a lower turnout, nor has discussion in them been more subdued. We are obviously failing to realize the transformations which have occurred in rural primary party organizations. It is pleasant to admit to such a mistake.

[Question] The very name of the campaign--report-back and programmatic--causes a certain misunderstanding. Reporting on the first half of the term is a clear issue, but programs are being adopted for the entire term....

[Answer] As far back as 100 years ago, Warynski said that his party "is not above history." Who knows if this is not one of the most important maxims our own history is handing down to us. Maybe we would have avoided a few mistakes if we had always remembered it. We are never above history, especially in times like today. It is enough to remember the situation in which report-back and electoral conferences aimed at making essential corrections to programs adopted in 1981 took place. They took place in such conditions still before the Tenth Plenum, which determined the convening of the Extraordinary Congress. And how many times has every one of us party members corrected his own appraisals and forecasts since that time?

[Question] Not everyone could afford to do so....

[Answer] Not everyone. Many organizations gathered at report-back conferences with a considerably lower membership than they had at the beginning of the term. And while the campaign has been in progress, organizations have struck off or expelled almost 5,000 persons from our ranks after having examined their political, professional and moral attitudes.



[Question] Even so there have been new members joining, although not many and not in all social circles....

[Answer] Altogether, 1,000 new comrades have been accepted at report-back conferences throughout the country. Nevertheless, I would avoid using the term "a lot," "a little" or "just enough." Although people are still not keen to join, the party and party organizations themselves are very careful. It is still important that the development of the party ranks should be a topic on the agenda of most conferences. For this would show that the organizations know how to regain their position in the community and that they have freed themselves of those "cloaks of repentance" which they have worn for rather a long time and which they put on rather easily. Besides, never for one moment have we shut ourselves off from new people, neither before the congress nor after 13 December last year, and neither openly nor secretly. As is known, we have not carried out a party check either. I am mentioning these facts deliberately, for I believe that our avoidance of both of these measures shows that we have lasted through all the difficulties and dangers of the past 2 years as a party governed by normal principles.

[Question] And it is these normal principles to which we are returning after years of neglect, despite the difficulties. The next question is based on this background. Has the delegation of individual party tasks ceased to be theory?

[Answer] I dare not say it is already practice everywhere, but in fact the idea has been adopted in many organizations. What is more, a lot of attention is being devoted during report-back conferences in these organizations to examining how these tasks are being implemented and how they can be brought up to date. There are also organizations which have placed their executive boards under an obligation to set their members and candidate members specific tasks, indicating trade unions, self-management bodies, youth organizations, anti-speculation commissions and so on as examples. Report-back conferences have also revealed that there are a lot of aktivs in primary organizations. It is these aktivs, embedded in their own organizations so to speak and not making themselves known in the work of party cells or of regional party work centers [ROPP], which largely determine the rhythm of these organizations' life and set an example to their nearest fellow comrades, participants in the political battle.

[Question] However, these aktivs act most often by intuition, guiding themselves by their experience or by a class instinct; they are not very well equipped ideologically.

[Answer] That is true. That is why the current level, range and speed of party information is generally regarded as positive during report-back conferences. However, this does not mean that no criticism has been made on this subject. The need has been stressed to use a more understandable language and to outpace information coming from the opponent. Party training is being criticized. People are sensing that there are loopholes in this sphere, and they are sensing them all the more strongly since there is

a general tendency to strengthen party discipline, the party's workers'-class nature and its ideological homogeneity. It is difficult to carry out these tendencies in an intelligent and mature way without elementary ideological preparation. However, what is needed here is not only training, but self-education and the development of the habit of reaching for a book.

[Question] The report-back campaign is the first thorough review of the state of the party of this kind since the Ninth Congress. But it does not only review the party; also reflected in it are the daily life of the country, social moods and specific problems being faced by individual social circles. So what sort of picture of Poland at the end of 1982 can one perceive, looking at it through the lens of party criticism, concern and hope?

[Answer] If I restrict myself to the two fundamental social circles for the party--the workers' class and the peasants--then I must say that this is a picture still full of huge difficulties and burdens, but already free of powerlessness and lack of confidence in the future. On the whole, party organizations in factories see in self-management bodies and in trade unions a rebuilding of workers' democracy in accordance with the spirit of the Ninth Congress. A class view of social differences is very sharp in these organizations; criticism is being made of profiteering out of proportion to the work put in, of the low success in the fight against the "black market" and of overburdening the workers' class with the costs of the crisis. In rural areas, conferences have reflected the continuing conviction in these areas that the state's agricultural policy is still unstable. There are numerous grudges about the prices of certain agricultural crops, and the shortage of production resources, ranging from machines and fertilizers to rubber boots, is criticized. Thus, these have not been conferences conducted in a commendable tone; quite the opposite. But there has been no demagoguery and no bold criticism of everything either. There has been a lot of soberness, realism and a feeling of responsibility. Also, the resolutions which were adopted are on the whole justifiable in the eyes of the social circle and are aimed at overcoming the difficulties and ailments.

[Question] We are conversing at a time when the suspension of martial law is clearly drawing nearer. Thus, we must already bring the conclusions drawn from the report-back and programmatic campaign face to face with the tasks which this next important step toward normalization will bring....

[Answer] This will also be a further test for every party organization. And, as always, party cells and activists from outside can help if necessary, but they cannot do anything on behalf of the primary party organizations. In any case, I am not afraid of this test, for we have not been wasting the time during which martial law has been in force. Most of our primary organizations have retained and even strengthened their real ties with their social circle. There is an incomparably greater amount of organizations conscious of their place and role today than there was during the electoral campaign. I reckon we can afford to proceed under new conditions along the same unchanging road we have been following since the Ninth Congress, the road of accord and struggle.

CSO: 2600/211

## SWIRGON CONFRONTS ARTISTS ON BOYCOTT ISSUE

AU171028 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 13 Dec 82 pp 1, 2

[Report signed 'Pl.': "Politics and Art--Waldemar Swirgon's Meeting With Artistic People"]

[Text] On 10 December, Waldemar Swirgon, PZPR Central Committee secretary, met with writers, artists, theater people and journalists from the Bydgoszcz community. The ensuing discussion mainly dealt with three topics: the actors' boycott, the situation of the Union of Polish Writers and the state's cultural policy, particularly in relation to regional artistic communities.

Do the actors in fact have an issue? Or, asked the hosts, was perhaps the actors' issue artificially blown up by propaganda? Is it not the result of some sort of nebulous "central" illusion? Because the actors' issue is in point of fact of secondary importance in the provinces, are the actors really terrorizing one another, and if so, are they organized into some kind of groups and are they strong?

Waldemar Swirgon stated that the actors' boycott is part of the political struggle, which is maybe a little farcical and grotesque in reality, a struggle which is conducted in a more elegant and veiled fashion in other spheres. While lifting the suspension of the activities of the Union of Polish Actors [ZASP], the plenipotentiary representatives of the government and the union's main board made a gentlemen's agreement to solve the problem, deciding that the actors will continue to work while the authorities rebuild other unions and artistic associations. However, this did not happen. For 11 months, the authorities did not even take the smallest repressive measures with regard to the community. And then we saw a festival of antistate programs and gestures. The community used methods in dealing with collaborators which can be defined as nothing less than moral and social terror. W. Swirgon gave many examples. Everyone can, of course, have his own point of view. But views which acquire an organized, institutionalized form through other connections and associations have a totally different significance altogether. It is not in the state's interest to rebuild unions, either artistic or professional ones, which implement anticommunist political programs. The authorities will strive to rebuild artistic people's organizations on the condition that these organizations

observe their statutes during their activities and obey the order set down in the constitution.

It is not possible to imagine and it is not the intention of party leaders to think that an idyllic vision of the relations between the authorities and artistic people could or even should exist, W. Swirgon said. The government apparatus is naturally inclined to see people and social phenomena in an instrumental system. However, the age-old law of art is to revolt against discipline. This is normal and possible to accept in a socialist system as well. But a conflict which has been calculated into the authority-artist relations must be clearly outlined and have well-defined limits.

The subject of certain artists' attitudes was discussed. Does one, for instance, broach the field of politics when writing a review of a good book whose author compromised himself as a citizen, to put it mildly? Or is such a commendation an act of civil disloyalty?

W. Swirgon stated that a man of letters, a film man and a writer are bound by the same civil duties as a dockworker and a farmer.

"We do not have a complex about living in the provinces," said one of the meeting's participants. "It may even be that we see certain things more clearly than the capital because we went through less tension. And so it is that in every period of history people turn to the provinces. This has always been so. In the end, however, it is of little importance where anyone lives, but how they live and whether they contribute to culture on a nationwide scale. I am referring to the access of regional communities to television, for instance..."

W. Swirgon admitted that the problem is important. He stated that the authorities will strive for regions outside Warsaw to find their due place in society's cultural affairs. For the tone of culture has until now been set by specific elites in Warsaw, whereas the so-called territorial groups, or regional centers, should be developing. But the possibility of implementing these intentions is not the sole responsibility of the authorities, since the most important factor is the initiative of these circles themselves. In accordance with the ZMW's old principle: It is best to help those who help themselves.

CSO: 2600/212

SFRY ASSEMBLY CONCLUSION ON KOSOVO EMIGRATION

LD172054 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1225 GMT  
17 Nov 82

["Conclusions on Emigration From Kosovo"--TANJUG headline]

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov (TANJUG)--Proceeding from the fact that pressure for the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo represents a violation of and a threat to the freedom and rights of our people and citizens as guaranteed by the SFRY Constitution, and that the attempt by counterrevolutionary forces of Albanian nationalists and irredentists in Kosov by force and with other pressure to create "an ethnically pure Kosov" is a crude attack on the freedom, independence and integrity of the SFRY and on the social system, brotherhood and unity, equality and togetherness of the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia and on the vital interests of the Albanian nationality itself as established by the SFRY Constitution;

Bearing in mind that the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, under pressure, is the problem of the entire Yugoslav community and that elimination of the reasons for their emigration and the establishment of conditions for the return to Kosovo of those who wish to do so is of common interest for our entire working class, all the working people and citizens and for all nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia;

Evaluating that, with the activity and efforts of subjective forces in Kosovo, positive results are obtained in removing the reasons for the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo under pressure and in establishing the reasons for the return of those who wish to do so, but that this emigration goes on;

Proceeding from the stands and orientations in the political platform for LCY action in the development of socialist self-management, brotherhood and unity and togetherness in Kosov, the documents and materials of the SFRY presidency, of the Federal Executive Council, of the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia and of the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and from the assessments, stands and proposals contained in the reports by the working bodies of the chambers and of the joint working bodies of the chambers of the SFRY Assembly set out at the

chambers' sessions held on 29 September and 16 November 1982, during discussion within the ambit of the agenda item entitled: Emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins From Kosovo;

The SFRY Assembly, on the basis of Article 129 of the Standing Orders of the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly, at the Federal Chamber session on 17 November 1982, adopted the following conclusions:

In keeping with the authority of the SFRY Assembly calls upon all the organs, organizations and communities in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, and enjoins all the organs and organizations in the federation, within the framework of their rights, duties and responsibilities, to continue with even more intensive activity the consistent implementation of the freedoms and rights of our working people and citizens as guaranteed by the SFRY Constitution, and for their peaceful, safe and equal life and work in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, and in so doing to frustrate all aspects of pressure for the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, for the faster and more successful removal of the reasons for their emigration and for the establishment of conditions for the return to Kosovo of those who wish to do so.

The Federal Chamber calls on all the working people and citizens, organizations of associated labor, local communities and other self-management organizations and communities, sociopolitical and other social organizations that each of them separately and all of them together, in implementing social self-protection, should resolutely frustrate all aspects of pressure for the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and should intensify reciprocal trust, equality, brotherhood and unity of all the working people and citizens and of our nations and nationalities in Kosovo.

The Federal Chamber stresses that it is the historical responsibilities of the working class and of all working people and citizens of Kosovo--and especially of members of the Albanian nationality--in the struggle against Albanian nationalism and irredentism, to foil all aspects of pressure for the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

The Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly fully supports the working people and citizens, socialist subjective forces, self-management organizations and communities and state organs in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo which, together with the working people and citizens and nations and nationalities of our socialist self-management community, are fighting resolutely against counterrevolutionary activity and Albanian nationalism and irredentism, and to preserve and establish equality, brotherhood and unity and togetherness of our nations and nationalities in Kosovo.

The Federal Chamber expects that, with the efforts of subjective socialist force and with measures and activities that have been taken, the conditions will be established whereby the Serbs and Montenegrins who because of pressure and because of the situation created as a result of

counterrevolutionary activities of other forms of unfavorable situation had intended to emigrate from Kosovo, will now abandon this intention and together with all working people and citizens in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo promote the relations of their life and work together and contribute to the further socialist development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and, in so doing, also to the development of our socialist self-management community as a whole.

It is the commitment and responsibility of all subjects of our socialist self-management society resolutely to suppress all manifestations of negative sentiments and revenge-seeking directed against the Albanian nationality and to fight against all nationalism.

The Federal Chamber of the SFRY ASsembly requires all state and self-management organs to work more efficiently, responsibly and consistently to implement the agreed policy and to carry out the laws and other regulations and self-management general acts in connection with the implementation and protection of the established freedoms and rights of our people and citizens established by the SFRY Constitution, because this contributes to the restoration of reciprocal trust between the working people and citizens in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and to the halting of the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo under pressure.

The Federal Chamber asks the assemblies of the sociopolitical communities in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and in the Socialist Republic of Serbia, to regularly follow and assess, within the framework of its constitutionally established rights and duties, the work of the executive organs and organs of administration and especially organs in the field of internal affairs, justice, labor, education and training and organizations and communities which exercise public authority, and to adopt measures prescribed by the law and by other acts against those who do not act in keeping with their powers and obligations and who are found to have contributed in an unconstitutional and illegal manner to the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, as well as to reexamine regulations and self-managing general acts and give the initiative for the annulment of those that violate the constitutional principles on equal rights for and equality of working people and citizens in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo.

The courts and other judicial organs and organs dealing with complaints and suggestions should continue, in keeping with the constitution and the law, to give priority to and deal more speedily with any individual cases of importance for halting emigration and settling other problems linked with the emigration, under pressure, of Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo.

The Federal Chamber positively assesses the measures and activities so far adopted for the purpose of stopping the pressures and creating the most favorable conditions for the return of those Serbs and Montenegrins to Kosovo who wish to do so and considers that the Assembly of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and all the other organs, organizations and communities in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo should continue

to be active in this way and consistently carry out the measures and activities specified in their programs.

The Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly considers that for the purpose of further improving the material basis of economic and social development and stabilizing economic and political relations in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo it is necessary to strive, above all by relying on one's own resources, in particular for optimum utilization of the existing production and other capacities in Kosovo, for an essential increase in work productivity, work discipline and responsibility, for the more rapid and effective settling of problems of self-managing association and pooling between associated labor in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and associated labor in the rest of the country, for settling the problems of unemployment, for the creation of the conditions needed to train and retrain working people in keeping with the requirements of associated labor and for education and training in the spirit of togetherness and Yugoslav socialist patriotism, for the reciprocal knowledge of the languages and cultures of the members of Kosovo's nations and nationalities, for the promotion of cultural, scientific, educational and other forms of cooperation with the nations and nationalities of Yugoslavia, for the more consistent realization and further development of socioeconomic and other socialist self-managing relations, and for the elimination of all the forms of usurpation of the rights of the working class and working people and citizens.

The Federal Executive Council considers that in the realization of socialist solidarity and of the harmonious socioeconomic development of the country it is necessary to carry out self-managing association and pooling between associated labor in the whole country with associated labor in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo more speedily and efficiently, and ensure that the appropriate organs of the republics and provinces and the federation--each within the framework of their rights and duties--adopt the necessary measures and launch activities encouraging such association and pooling.

The SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber charges the Federal Executive Council with ensuring, within the framework of its rights and duties, the carrying out of the established policy and implementation of the federal laws and other regulations, general acts that concern the realization and protection of the freedoms and rights the SFRY Constitution guarantees to the working people and citizens of Kosovo and with submitting to the SFRY Assembly appropriate proposals, including amendments and addenda to federal laws and other general acts that are deemed to fall short of ensuring the necessary degree of realization of and protection for these freedoms and rights.

The federal organs of administration will continue, within the framework of their powers, to adopt measures and start activities aimed at preventing pressure on the Serbs and Montenegrins to make them emigrate from Kosovo. In carrying out these measures and activities it will cooperate with the appropriate organs in the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo and the Socialist Republic of Serbia, in keeping with federal laws.



The Federal Executive Council will regularly keep the Federal Chamber informed about the results achieved in carrying out the measures and activities that it has introduced and have been implemented by the federal organs of administration to prevent pressures to make Serbs and Montenegrins emigrate from Kosovo and create the conditions necessary for their return to Kosovo.

The SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber expects the Yugoslav Constitutional Court, in connection with the emigration under pressure of the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo, to inform the Federal Chamber about the situation and problems concerning the implementation of the constitutional and legal provisions. It also expects the judiciary organs in the federation, acting in keeping with the rights and duties guaranteed by the SFRY Constitution and federal legislation, to take all measures necessary for the most effective possible protection of the freedoms and rights guaranteed the working people and citizens in Kosovo by the SFRY Constitution and to keep the Federal Chamber regularly informed in this connection.

The SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber stresses the special role and responsibility of all the subjects of the information system in keeping the public fully informed in good time about the situation in Kosovo and the activities and struggle for the stabilization of political, economic and cultural life and promoting the Yugoslav nations' and nationalities' brotherhood, unity and togetherness.

The SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber will regularly monitor the realization of the measures and the results of the activities being adopted to prevent the emigration under pressure of the Serbs and Montenegrins from Kosovo and create the conditions necessary for the return of those who wish to do so and, in keeping with all this, it will formulate its policy and adopt the appropriate measures.

The Federal Chamber expects its working bodies and the joint working bodies of the SFRY Assembly chambers to monitor, within the sphere of their competences, the execution of these conclusions and keep the Federal Chamber informed in this connection.

The Federal Chamber expects delegates in the chamber to strive for the implementation of these conclusions in their debate base and in all the forms of their activity.

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SOCIAL ECONOMIST DISCUSSES FLAWS IN SYSTEM

Belgrade INTERVJU in Serbo-Croatian 15 Oct 82 pp 5-10

[Interview with Dr Bosko Gluscevic, professor of the School of Economics and director of the Institute for Socioeconomic Research in Titograd and chairman of the Working Group for Yugoslavia's Regional Development of the "Krajger" Commission, by Dragan Tanasic: "History Allows No Makeup Exam"; date and place not specified]

[Text] Once time has passed, it is lost forever. Time displays a multitude of faces, and it was with good reason that some poet reminded us that it can be contemptible in its ridicule. After all, if you have had a chance to show yourself and prove yourself in a given moment of history, that opportunity does not recur.... In history there is no makeup examination....

Bosko Gluscevic, professor of the School of Economics and director of the Institute for Socioeconomic Research in Titograd, chairman of the Working Group for Yugoslavia's Regional Development within the "Krajger" Commission, spoke to us about this lost time, about the roots of our crisis, about tardy reactions and half-measures, and about our double moral standard.

The better-informed readers will recall: this is the same economist who some 10 years ago wrote down in the social plan for development: "We have abundant natural resources, altogether definite advantages over others, but that is not worth a great deal unless we change our habits and work more industriously and behave more thriftily."

It was thus that man, with his face, his character and his soul, for the first time took up residence in one of our social documents and in it displaced from it an impersonal productive force unknown to us.

[Question] Why did we allow 7 years to pass before reaching general consensus on the need to change many things in the socioeconomic system? Why have we been so indifferent or blind to the facts?

[Answer] The answer to a question put that way has to be this: there are a multitude of essential weaknesses in our socioeconomic system which account for our being so tardy. They came into being because of elements of consciousness alien to us and which became incorporated in our society at one time or

another: either as imitation or models from other countries or as the doctrine of certain authorities in science or politics. We took them up without a critical attitude and adopted them as a new element of our belief. Carried along by this first doctrine, we were in the process of becoming not only indifferent, but blind and unreceptive to facts in everyday life. What is more, we imparted to such facts certain features outside a realistic context, proclaiming them simply as something accidental and inessential, as an exception or as a case of excess. Remaining deaf and blind to those same facts, we have been waiting for someone else at some time later to solve our problems or we have been expecting that those problems would in time work themselves out.

[Question] When the energy crisis occurred, the advanced countries immediately adopted a conservation program...?

[Answer] Well, by and large they did.... All the civilized countries which have completed the cycle of industrialization, urgently drafted plans for energy conservation and later for thrift in general. Every one of those programs was binding upon individuals, upon enterprises and upon entities in political and social life. To be sure, even we mentioned the need for conservation and development of domestic energy raw materials in a rather general way at party congresses and in other public documents, but we did not draft detailed programs in which we said who was to do what and in what domain, at what time, how and how much. General appeals, as we know, are perceived in general like all general acts. At first the perception is very strong, and then later we ignore them and completely forget them under the pressure of certain other current problems. So, this kind of behavior in everyday life led us into the situation where we now find ourselves, in which we have extreme difficulties in the fuel and power industry, and major failures in the fields of investment, targeted education and the way in which particular segments of the economy and society are organized.

[Question] You say: that kind of behavior led us.... Whose behavior?

[Answer] We cannot put the blame for that situation on some imaginary forces, some forces unknown to us.... For everything today and everything there will be in the future we alone are to blame, and that blame should be divided among us according to jurisdiction and responsibility. In practical terms this means that the workingman or organizations of associated labor are responsible for what lay in the domain of their decisionmaking, and for every higher level of organization, the economic, social and political responsibility and blame for the mistakes must be borne by the people who were making the decisions at those levels.

[Question] Did the warnings from scholars and scientists concerning certain obvious shortcomings arrive too late?

[Answer] At one time or another, but not necessarily in good time, a sizable number of scholars and scientists did warn those in positions of political authority that problems would naturally arise in development which we would not be able to avoid solving. On that occasion we also pointed to possible solutions or to methods, means and activities which should be undertaken toward

solving those problems successfully without coercion, without huge restrictions, without major changes of direction, since we were aware that any abrupt change of direction causes destabilization and disruption in the system and enormous difficulties in habituation whether to the conditions of the economic system or to political and organizational changes. However, earlier and indeed even now such ideas and proposals offered by individuals, by groups or institutes are as a rule rejected or, to state it less severely, neglected.

[Question] According to the POLITIKA report, Franc Popit contested the proposals of the scholars and scientists even in a recent meeting of the CC of Yugoslavia [LCY Central Committee]....

[Answer] I also read that, as well as Grlickov's rejoinder.... If we are to understand that, we need to be mindful of the suspicion which the political apparatus displays toward intellectuals, which has been known for a very long time. And that lesson, once learned in youth, later unfortunately has been retained as a principle in the conduct of life. Nor is it any wonder that even today we have the deep-seated opinion in the party apparatus that it is not intelligent people we need, but obedient people. The first time I heard this thesis refuted and stated the other way about, that is, that we need intelligent people, not obedient people, was from Dusan Dragosavac, who at that time was chairman of the Presidium of the CC of Yugoslavia. I do not know if this will change the attitude, but it did me good to hear emphasis put on the need to use intellect, knowledge and ability in solving the urgent problems of development.

[Question] Is that your whole answer?

[Answer] No, not altogether. There is also a different explanation.... Our political system, as you know, manifests in practice the phenomenon of ex officio intelligence. You have probably noted it: as soon as we elect someone to a position, even though he did not come to it because of any special ability, but rather in order to meet structural criteria (so that the holder of the office be of a particular nationality, sex, or age) or simply because he does not know how to do anything else, and so on, and so forth, though before that time he was natural and ordinary and realistic, after his appointment, he changes all of a sudden ... and he conceives that he has some specialized knowledge, much more than other people, and in measure with his position demands that he pronounce absolute judgment and definitive conclusions and that he become involved in very complicated problems and subtle analyses, ignoring all those who have been participating and working in this at a very high level of competence.

[Question] Have you yourself had such experiences?

[Answer] Last year the Consortium of Yugoslav Economics Institutes was called upon to ascertain and explain why in practice the planning system is not functioning as envisaged by the Law on Social Planning. We 12 economists, experts in the field of planning and other domains of economic life, indicated in a detailed and comprehensive analysis that the problem did not lie in the law as such--though in it there are certain cases of vagueness, contradictions and

certain assumptions which are not close to the real situation in life--but that the function of planning in our socioeconomic system must be differently regarded.

[Question] What was it you actually wished to affirm?

[Answer] We wanted to affirm the plan as a conscious and scientific approach in solving urgent economic and social problems and at the same time not to diminish the role of the market as a neutral arbiter in economic development. At the same time we urged that understanding be paid to the hierarchy of problems, since everything cannot be equally important or the same.

In meetings of the federal social councils I have argued that our views should be based on three features of the historical identity of our community: ethnic equality, social justice and direct democracy, with respect also paid to other premises, that is, the founding principles in the political system and our other value orientations. But in spite of that, as you remember, reports appeared in the daily press to the effect that the economists offered a conception contrary to the basic commitments of our system.

Which means that we must seek the explanation as to why the warnings and proposals of scholars and scientists are rejected in the nature of our political system. However notable the results and success we have achieved as the leaders of the struggle against Stalinism and against totalitarianism in general, in our everyday life the strong roots of prejudice are still felt concerning scholars and scientists and concerning intellectuals and science in general.

[Question] For some time now we have heard from all possible sociopolitical rostrums that our principal task both now and in the coming period is to export. And that we must achieve those exports at any price. Is it not a bit strange to come upon insistence that something be done at any price in a presumably rational line of argument?

[Answer] That idea was first launched somewhere toward the end of last year. Exports at any price, exports as the price of survival. I immediately came out in opposition and said that this led us into folly.

[Question] Did you say that in some official body?

[Answer] Yes, in a meeting of the Federal Economic Council. That slogan might have a catchy ring, but if it is applied in practice, then it means a loss for all participants in this common task. It is true that this could be lucrative for certain work organizations in the short run, but ultimately we will all lose. After all, exports at any price have brought us to the situation--as you can see if you look at these most recent figures and analyses--in which we are selling considerable quantities of products at less than half of their cost....

[Question] Some people even say that the dollar we earn this way is sometimes costing us 13,000 old dinars.

[Answer] I myself have heard similar assertions. And it is easy to see what the consequences are.... This means that we must reimburse the exporter for those 8,000 dinars, and we will thus take them from someone else and make up for his losses. In this way we flagrantly disrupt the flows of reproduction and distribution.

Let me be clear: exporting as an urgent measure and at any price is very expensive, speeds up the growth of total losses, and takes us off our course. That is obviously not the solution. Yes, we should export, but the most essential thing is what we are to export? The answer is simple. Whatever is in sufficient demand, products which have certain advantages, which will be able to compete on an equal footing on the world market and products whose trade guarantees us what we are lacking.

[Question] On one occasion you said that at one time in the past the errors were even justified, but not today, since we are an advanced society. At one time you favored in the Federal Constitutional Opinion that responsibility means sharing the fate of the idea which an individual advocates. If the idea fails, one also loses the right to offer an alternative program. Many of our programs have failed, but not their creators.

[Answer] The answer to that question must be in two parts: one concerning the error and the other concerning the responsibility. It is true that at one time we had the right to make mistakes. At the beginning, when we were semi-literate, when our knowledge was that of a minor, it was then justification for errors. Today, when we have behind us almost 40 years of experience in developing the system, when we have so many trained and qualified people, when our people have established themselves in other countries as exceptional experts in many fields--we no longer have the moral right to make mistakes.

And now about responsibility. Until debates about this become personal, that is, until those who committed the errors are named, we cannot make any further progress. When responsibility is socialized, we lose sight of the individual and his responsibility for what he does. And that thesis that a man shares the fate of the idea which he advocates should be interpreted in good faith. That is, let us entrust the fate of an idea, a program or a version of a program to the person who promises appropriate success and effective achievement. Let us behave in this manner quite in the ordinary way, as we treat, for example, the coach of the national soccer team: if he is successful, let him stay on, if not, let him withdraw and offer a chance to someone else in his place. The most troublesome thing in our life is when someone "leads us" onto the right road for the 15th time.

[Question] You have had a habit of saying that the ignorant tend to be bold....?

[Answer] Haven't you noticed that yourself? That intelligence after the fact is perilous in many ways, especially when a decision is made about the resources of society. The ignorant are always brave, since they are not aware of the consequences nor of how much their incompetent attempts cost. People who have too many ideas of how something should be done are usually not doing

any basic thinking. A great deal of time is needed to find the right solution and a good deal of searching until one comes upon the most suitable way in which to use the means, the right choice of method and at the same time preserve human dignity.

[Question] Although we frequently pay obeisance to patriotic sentiments, there is little of that left in our economic behavior. Back some 10 years ago, when you were a federal deputy in the Chamber of Nationalities, you defended the view that no one has the right to spend more than his people have earned. Has any pedagogy ever been successful without personal example?

[Answer] I can say this: any appeal to people's consciousness for them to behave more modestly, that is, to be thrifty and to do more work, should be confirmed by the individuals in public life by their own behavior in everyday life, by all those who hold positions of public importance, by those who are the leaders of work organizations or political organizations. After all, we have no reason whatsoever today to single out certain people and to attribute to them a particular importance in our self-managed society....

What do I actually mean by this? Let us be accountable to ourselves, and then we will be straightforward, and there will be no longer a need for supplemental trappings, for titles, there will no longer be a need for us to distinguish ourselves with our own expensive cars and villas, and special trains and special airplanes, special recreation areas and resorts.... Only in that way can we prove that we are truly devoted to the ideas which we are preaching. Let me repeat: no one has the moral right as the representative of the working class or of associated labor to spend more and above what that associated labor can set aside or produce.

[Question] Time, it seems, has once again spoiled a theory. Ideas of the good and the bad have today been overturned both in theoretical and political terms. Why has this happened?

[Answer] For a long time now we have been able to ascertain in our socioeconomic system a distortion in the mode of thought and paradoxicalness in logical connections, so that a man no longer be certain of himself and say: this is good or bad! The roots of all that, in my opinion, should be sought in the conflict between the economy and politics. So long as the economy predominated in our way of thought, we behaved both more morally and patriotically. You recall the enthusiasm with which we ran from one voluntary labor project to another? When we did not ask where something was being built, be it in Vranduk, on the Drina or at Djevdjelija, was a triumph for all of us? Well, that enthusiasm for the development of the material foundations of our society and socialism has turned completely in the direction of politics and toward a strengthening of politics all the way to a decisive influence in society, in everyday life. This should be seen as the reason why certain concepts have become distorted. This is why many of our politicians have asserted that production is not so important as relations, that the tons of steel, coal, grain and kilowatt-hours are not so important as the forms and format for reaching agreement on how those things are to be produced.

[Question] How would you explain our duality in speaking about the need for more serious work in material production, while the number of administrative and bureaucratic staff services increases more and more?

[Answer] A general phenomenon typical of our system over the last 20 years is the very rapid growth of social parasitism. And the more we have asserted that we are striving for an organization of economic and social life which will not have excessive costs, the more the number of social parasites and the number of soul savers responsible for our fate, our future and survival has grown regardless of our wishes and regardless of any sort of real needs and logical criteria.

We have a multitude of bodies and organizations whose existence no sensible man is able to explain. Since time immemorial, say, I have been paying trade union dues, but in my opinion the kind of trade union we have should not exist at all. I would render a different judgment if it were protecting me from someone, defending my interests, say, against the government administration, acting in my name and on my account, then it would make some sense to pay dues. The way it is, it becomes nonsensical. The same applies to the Socialist Alliance. It can exist for the sake of trappings, but in my opinion it is superfluous.... From time to time I merely hear that that body has met at the level of the republic or commune, has debated something which has been already debated long since, and is just as boring as any unsuccessful repeat. I could, of course, enumerate many other institutions which have no economic or any other essential function in society. It is through those and similar institutions, then, that we have given birth to the social parasites who are in themselves a problem. They are a cost, but they are dangerous for two reasons.

[Question] What is the other one?

[Answer] It is that social parasitism, in that it offers very favorable conditions for survival, personal prosperity and affirmation, also offers a life without responsibility. After all, no one evaluates the product of their work. Whereas the products of associated labor are evaluated on the market, as well as in the collective when distribution takes place, no one has the right, however, to evaluate the products of this bureaucracy. What is more, these people always figure as arbiters evaluating workers in material production, in teaching, in bringing up the young, in health care, in athletics, and so on. They are always right, and it is only as such that they make their appearance, as heralds of our errors, oversights and mistakes. Aside from that, the costs they represent are expanding. At one time, for example, there was the R-3 card for administrative staff members and there was the R-1 card for lumberjacks, railroad workers, underground miners and other workers.

[Question] That relation has been utterly changed by the coefficients which have been introduced?

[Answer] Now it is 3:1 in favor of the bureaucrats. Why? Since they are responsible for the initiative of enactment of legislation in the domain of the institutional system and concerning the distribution of income above all. They set the taxes, the surtaxes, the administrative fees and contributions.



And those are for them revenues, and it is logical for them to constantly strive to take the largest possible bite from the income of workers in material production.

The third dimension of this problem lies in the fact that their revenues are social costs, and that puts a heavy burden on the income of every work organization and makes its products more expensive. Only in this way can we explain the paradox that Yugoslav products, when the personal incomes of the working people are so low, one-third or one-fourth of the personal income of the West German worker, cost almost twice as much. To conclude, the high social overhead is making our products so expensive and thereby less competitive on the world market.

[Question] It was recently stated in a Conference of Communists Employed in Federal Bodies, Agencies and Organizations that the growth of employment in those bodies is 16 percent on an annual basis and that there are still 4,234 job vacancies. Yet in the country at large unemployment has increased at a rate between 2.5 and 3.5 percent....

[Answer] Of course, we have the social overhead for 10 and perhaps even 15 Yugoslavias. King Nikola, if you recall, had seven ministers, and today Montenegro has that many paid vice presidents at the republic level. Except at that time Montenegro, since it was a kingdom, was larger in area than it is today by all of Metohija and a part of the Sanjak.

[Question] Have you and your institute perhaps done research on how many of those jobs which you refer to as parasitic there are in Yugoslavia in proportional terms?

[Answer] To some extent we have, and that recently. I will be brief in order not to burden readers with that entire analysis: in the domain of material production, which means agriculture, mining, forestry, industry, construction and transportation, one out of every 12 Yugoslav citizens is employed. In other words, each of them is producing on the average for 12 other people!!! If we add to them those who work in hostelry, tourism, transportation, banking, insurance, bringing up children, education, the health system and social welfare, then one worker is maintaining seven other citizens!

[Question] I am also aware that you have studied people's working ability at various ages and the degree of their adaptability to changes in their work. What have you learned?

[Answer] This phenomenon is of interest to me personally, but we have also done a study here in the institute. In our country a man enters the process of reproduction very late, if he graduates from the university, somewhere between the ages of 29 and 30. At that age he is already rigid in his thinking, and as a trainee it will be difficult for him to begin to learn techniques in his work, to master procedures and processes. This, then, is a problem we ought to think about very deeply, and this applies even more to something else we have learned. After the revolution we were both tolerant and self-critical, we spoke openly about errors and oversights and mentioned the names of

individuals, and even talked about the mistakes of the party. People were not ashamed to admit that they were ignorant of something even when we were demanding that they constantly learn. Very great changes have taken place in the meantime, but two essential and inevitable processes have escaped our attention. First, that with time we also get older and that those who were once young men and women have long since entered the seventh decade of their lives; that today they also have various physical ailments: digestion, pains in the joints, impaired movement and speech and especially poor memory; and we forget that they are thinking more about rest than about work....

It has long been known that people become grumblers and become caustic and envious when they get old. In arguing that something that someone else wants--someone who is younger, someone who is capable, someone who desires things to be better and more beautiful--is superfluous, saying that we already have that and that nothing should be changed, old age turns that entire resistance to changes into an extreme danger to the development of every society, including ours.

Aside from that, it is in the nature of things that people get tired working in the same forums and in the same positions. There is a point to the saying: A stone which does not roll becomes overgrown with moss.

[Question] What else have you discovered in the research? How do our socio-economic and political structures behave?

[Answer] Unfortunately, they have become a brake on the vertical and horizontal mobility of people, goods, materials, energy, social capital and indeed even information. They have been striving to regionalize and localize everything and subject everything to their control and arbitration. Something that has become very dangerous and that is not pointed out sufficiently is the obstruction of flows of information. Everyone is striving to state some truth of his own, as he sees it, and, of course, as best suits him.

[Question] Where do you see the reasons for that kind of behavior?

[Answer] Well, it is certain that the rigidity of those structures has been affected by their age in years. After all, every time demands its own people. You see, we have accepted changes in the domain of poetry, music, the dance and other segments of life as something normal. However, by no means do we accept that in the domain of political organizations, the management and regulation of the economy and other flows. In saying this I do not deny the exceptional contribution and experience of individuals, there are such people, but those are only exceptions.

What is most incomprehensible is that we as revolutionaries, in entering the movement, the party, as convinced atheists, as people who have renounced the past in the name of the future, have gradually become believers. As we have constantly reiterated our credo, our ideas, which at one time were topical and fruitful, we forget that today, in this time, we must offer new ideas, new content, new goals and a new scale of values. Only in that way will they provide motivation and a creative incentive for young people whose horizons are altogether different, who look much further into the future....

[Question] Does this mean that in your opinion our current troubles are also a consequence of poor personnel selection, and would our prospects for success be greater if from the political standpoint and every other standpoint we opened up the way to natural selection of people?

[Answer] We have debated this a great deal in scientific circles, and there have also been written papers on this. Our institute in Titograd at one time did a study on personnel, and as part of that Professor Kiril Mijoljski, member of the academy, did some particular work in which he treated very subtly the phenomenon of negative selection of personnel. He established that our political apparatus, whenever it was in a dilemma whether to choose the intelligent man or the obedient man, by and large and as a rule opted for the obedient man, since his mentality is this: Tie up the horse where your master tells you, even if the wolves eat it.

Once when Kaiser Wilhelm of Prussia was informed by his minister for internal affairs that aside from the existing Black Internationale, a Red Internationale had also been established, and worriedly asked him: "What is to be done?" Wilhelm the First indifferently answered: "Just save me from the third internationale, it is the most dangerous." "And which is that?" "The internationale of mediocrity." Why did I tell that anecdote? Because the mediocrity never thinks of correcting something, even if he knows of a better solution. And what is most tragic in our system is that those who have been obedient have been promoted regardless of the errors which they have committed, either on their own or on someone's order. Their protectors always strove to conceal this. And by some strange logic, the greater the errors, the greater the reason for them to cover them up.

Thinking people, people with ideas, achievers, men of action, who have offered new, more up-to-date, more thrifty and more humanistic solutions, by contrast, have often been subjected to suspicion or even grave accusations.

[Question] You are the leader of a group which within the "Krajger" Commission has been concerned with the problems of regional development. I know that that is a topic for a book to itself, but would you please say something brief about that?

[Answer] I do not have the right to speak in detail about this, since opinions within the group are not unanimous. Nevertheless, on behalf of the truth, I must say that some time ago certain ideas emerged in which an attempt was made to dispute the concept of life in a multinational community and thereby the guarantee of equality--economic, political or any other--of the subjects of Yugoslavia. The direct consequence of that is that over the last 10 years or so we have broken up large technical systems--railroads, the postal service, air transportation, energy and so on, into republic systems. Instead of broadening the unity of economic and social space, where an opportunity was offered us to solve our common problems more easily and successfully both with respect to the production of raw materials, energy, food, and indeed even certain basic industrial products, we have pursued regional and subregional distribution to the point of falling into nonsensical situations. These fragmented and splintered parts of the large technical systems are not entities in

and of themselves, but rather artificial boundaries are made between republics and provinces, and absurdities thereby arise with respect to the level of utilization of the available capacity they contain. The absurdities are infectious like an epidemic, and there has been a subsequent division among individual administrative communities within the republics and communes, and I will not be surprised if one day they do not even begin to divide up the local communities!

It is as though people did not realize a simple truth which follows from mathematical logic, but everything that is divided becomes smaller! And in that diminished economic space the effort to find optimum solutions is more cramped.

And that is why I can say: until we as a society become ashamed, until we break into a sweat with shame because of these and similar phenomena and processes in Yugoslavia, until then we cannot say that there is a wholesome spirit within us, a spirit of cooperation, a spirit of understanding that we depend on one another, not only in historical terms, but indeed destiny has turned us one toward the other. All those small and petty accounts, those chasms, those regional cases of bias, insofar as they exist, diminish each of the ideas which we have incorporated into the constitution and adopted as our strategic commitment and as the vision of self-management socialism.

[Question] What measures are to be taken at this moment, at what neuralgic points should the available means be applied so as to open up the prospect for favorable change? Why, to mention just one thing, have the ideas of the Green Plan been discredited, when it is obvious that food and tourism offer us a reliable opportunity for successful export, and that over a lengthy period of time?

[Answer] Although reality has long ago proven that there is no case in which a peasant has traveled to Miami for his summer vacation or has gone to Monte Carlo to gamble, or has sold some state secret to some foreign spy, we have been unremittingly suspicious of the peasant. We have been suspicious even though they have always proven themselves to be tried and true patriots in all the wars to date, and indeed even in our revolution. It is they who have always made the material and human sacrifices, paid every bill, indeed even the bill for our ideological errors. They also put up with the system of compulsory purchases of farm products and collectivization. What they have gotten for their pains is that they have been left without legal protection. They have no legitimacy whatsoever, you will have a hard time finding them in any responsible forum.... The only place you are sure to find him is in the population census and when the time comes to do military service and to wage war.

As for the measures which ought to be taken, it is also difficult to speak about that at this moment, since differing figures are reaching us from the most responsible places, and this has more the effect of confusing us than of explaining the true state of affairs to us. Although, I repeat, we have unnecessarily lost years upon years, there still exists one rule which we must abide by: that is work and thrift. Work and industry as a value orientation means that as a practical matter no one is allowed to exist except through purposive work. The idea of thrift ought to be instilled in us all and ought to be our lodestar, not only today, but over the long haul.

[Question] There is resistance to that in our mentality. We constantly make fun of the thrifty nations. What are the roots of that?

[Answer] The sudden appearance of wastefulness has two causes. When we separated the economy from politics and made politics independent of results in the economy....

[Question] Neglecting the notorious truth that the economy is a sublimated expression of politics...?

[Answer] That's right. And the second reason is the relatively favorable conditions on the world market for capital back 10 years ago or more. However, what have we done with that money? We spent it on luxuries in building superfluous and expensive facilities, on administrative buildings, on thousands of monuments to commemorate every event regardless of its true significance and value to the destiny of the peoples of Yugoslavia, forgetting the well-known historical rule: the more monuments there are while people are alive, the fewer after they are dead.

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MEMOIR LITERATURE, SEARCH FOR TRUTH IN PARTY HISTORY

Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 6 Dec 82 p 3

[Article by Nino Pavic]

[Text] It is of first-rate importance to encourage historical scholarship and journalistic efforts by Yugoslav writers. The least we can do is to demand scholarly honesty and dignity from such publications.

Recent years have seen a veritable flourishing of journalistic memoir literature. That trend has been underway worldwide for a long time, while in Yugoslavia several reasons have affected reader demand and the productivity of authors. First of all potential authors of such books are generally of an age when the need for writing memoirs, recording memories and explaining their own personal perception of persons and events from our Yugoslav past is unavoidable and understandable. Perhaps the most important reason is that sufficient time has past since the events that are both most attractive and most important. Nearly half a century has past since the "clash on the literary left," which has never sufficiently treated; it is 40 years since the national liberation war and fully 35 years since the conflict with the Informbureau.

"Real" Truths

It is thought that writing about those events has become easier because the most fateful participants are longer among the living, and the authority of their testimony can no longer, as previously, cut through the dilemmas about authenticity and correctness of interpretation. A suitable historical distance has also been achieved, so that today historical research and witness have been able either to overturn or confirm certain deep-rooted positions and place them in the proper social and historical context. The democratization of society, the development of self-management, the decentralization of archives, and historical activities have resulted in the situation where certain real or imagined limits, certain taboos that were presupposed have finally been softened or eliminated. Naturally, also of importance is the increasing interest of Yugoslav social sciences, especially historiography, for such literature, since it is in any case the source of new knowledge and views. Nor should we ignore the interest of publishing

houses that are turning increasingly to domestic authors and historical texts, because of both good sales and import restrictions.

It is understandable why some such works tickle the curiosity of the public. It is expected that they will, finally, at long last, "give the real truth" about certain events. It is as if all that Yugoslav scholarship has produced until now has been somehow "coiffured," lacquered and incomplete. supposedly we have always concealed the real truth about some piquant details of our history, we have obscured certain events and made the most prominent people of our movement untouchable and infallible. It is thought that it is high time to hear the "other side," to illuminate events in the Party and between its leaders, for without "clean roots" we will be unable to review the path we covered so far, or to determine how to proceed.

#### Malicious Hopes

From this it is clear how a climate of expecting the "real truth" is created, so that the correspondent of NIN at the Book Fair in Belgrade could hear 12 times the question "Has Kopinic been published yet?" It is normal if they wait spitefully for evidence of undemocratic and repressive aspects of the system and that great curiosity would prevail about the book of documents on the banning of the collection "Vunena vremena" [Woolly Times] and about the court case and conviction of Gajko Djogo. For the same reasons, there must be interest in such books as, for example, Esad Cemic's "Politika ili sudbina" [Politics of Fate], which was advertised as a study of "political martyrdom here in Yugoslavia." How else but anxiously could the public await, for example, this last book, when a reviewer had the following to say about it: "In this book as in very few published here in Yugoslavia or elsewhere, the author was able to use a synthetic sociological-esthetic literary approach to evoke and describe a special drama, with numerous social references. The composition is truly originally wrought and conducted with tension, so that it has a truly dramatic aspect. Without a doubt, the work contains significant innovations in terms of method. Finally, I would like to mention that books of this sort are rare, and that our minds have not, as is the case in other developed European cultures, become accustomed to them. When there are dozens of them, then we will regard them as the natural form for communicating and cultural interchange in the society and history we are living."

#### Superficial Confessions

In the sea of correct, useful and true literature, sometimes there are hopes for those who extract their reasons for living from totally different sources. Even though, for example, the role of Josip Kopinic, his connections and commanders have long been known, nevertheless the significance of his work and influence on the most important historical events, which in fact have determined the fundamental bases of the present Yugoslav social and political system, is unjustifiably glorified. In guessing about the mysteriousness of his influence, the desire is to cast doubt on the authenticity and autochthony of the revolutionary events of the 1940s, to conjecture about the supposed

"true" leaders of the Yugoslav Communist Party and the revolution, and the national liberation war.

A similar method is used to interpret the role of Andrija Hebrang and his connections with Yugoslav leaders. Superficial readers of various confessions of party and cultural workers who immediately after the war had some role in Yugoslav public life can get the impression that essentially the entire governmental and party leadership of our country knew for some years that Hebrang was a traitor and spy. It follows that there were some mysterious reasons why no action was taken against him, why documents were destroyed, etc.

#### Pressure on the Public

At first glance it appears that we have to do with actual historical material, with efforts to bring greater light to the study of the history of the Yugoslav party, peoples and revolution. In fact, it is often merely a matter of attempts, by some incorrect extraction of old stories (about which scholarship has already made its judgment), from the mouths of witnesses (about whom historical inevitability has also made its judgment), to dispute the moral and political legitimacy of the Party for further pursuit of the revolution, indeed to bring into question the appropriateness of insisting on continuing revolutionary processes and the right of the Party to lead them.

Pressures on public opinion also want to force the rehabilitation of some people and court judgments, hoping by insisting that the "film of events" always turns back to other times and other circumstances, which however are always regarded and judged by today's standards, to "prove" how a continuity of undemocratic relationships, suppressions, persecutions, arrests and Party involvement in culture and art has always existed (the Djogo case, the "persecution" of Cimica, etc.).

There is no doubt that our Yugoslav historiography has not said its last word yet. On the contrary, work on the history of the Party (initiated by the LCY Central Committee and nearing its end presently) is showing the whole complexity as well as the chronic defects and lackadaisical attitude toward that task. It is of prime importance that we encourage research and journalistic efforts by our authors, yet at the same time, the least we must ask for in the name of truth is scholarly honesty and dignity from such works.

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